

# **INTERSECTING CULTURES**

**European Influences in the Fine Arts: Melbourne  
1940–1960**

**Sheridan Palmer Bull**

**Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**December 2004**

**School of Art History, Cinema, Classics and Archaeology  
and  
The Australian Centre**

**The University of Melbourne**

**Produced on acid-free paper.**

## Abstract

The development of modern European scholarship and art, more marked in Austria and Germany, had produced by the early part of the twentieth century challenging innovations in art and the principles of art historical scholarship. Art history, in its quest to explicate the connections between art and mind, time and place, became a discipline that combined or connected various fields of enquiry to other historical moments.

Hitler's accession to power in 1933 resulted in a major diaspora of Europeans, mostly German Jews, and one of the most critical dispersions of intellectuals ever recorded. Their relocation to many western countries, including Australia, resulted in major intellectual and cultural developments within those societies. By investigating selected case studies, this research illuminates the important contributions made by these individuals to the academic and cultural studies in Melbourne.

Dr Ursula Hoff, a German art scholar, exiled from Hamburg, arrived in Melbourne via London in December 1939. After a brief period as a secretary at the Women's College at the University of Melbourne, she became the first qualified art historian to work within an Australian state gallery as well as one of the foundation lecturers at the School of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne. While her legacy at the National Gallery of Victoria rests mostly on an internationally recognised Department of Prints and Drawings, her concern and dedication extended to the Gallery as a whole. Franz Philipp, a Viennese art history doctoral student, whose passage of exile was deeply traumatic, arrived in Australia on board HMT *Dunera*. He rose to become the 'co-architect' of the newly founded Fine Arts Department of the University of Melbourne, where he instituted a rigorous standard of 'continental' scholarship. Professor Joseph Burke, a graduate in Fine Arts and a British war-time civil servant, was appointed to the first *Herald* Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne in 1946. His mission was not only to establish art historical studies in the University, but also to take art into the public sphere; both these responsibilities demanded a multifarious role in the fine arts and cultural environment in Melbourne.

Together with other important Europeans and Australians, these three scholars assisted in the cultural revision of the post-war period, legitimating cultural and

educational paradigms and processes by establishing a more dynamic cross-cultural and international programme of scholarship and change within the arts more generally. Individually and collectively, Ursula Hoff, Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke became a seminal force in the academic, intellectual, museological and cultural environment of post-war Melbourne.

## Declaration by Author

This is to certify that

- (i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the Preface.
- (ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.
- (iii) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S.P. Bull', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

Sheridan Palmer Bull  
20 December 2004



## Preface

Interviews and other material of mine collected in my professional role as an art curator, principally between 1994 and 2000, and in the research and writing for my Honours B.A. thesis at La Trobe University in 2000, has been drawn on to a minor extent for this dissertation. A very small number of sentences relating to Dr Ursula Hoff have been adapted from my Honours thesis, “A discriminate and prudent judgement”: A study of Dr Ursula Hoff.

## Acknowledgements

This research project involved the goodwill and intellectual generosity of many individuals. I would like particularly to thank Dr Ursula Hoff, a woman of incisive perception, enormous intellectual capacity and admirable spirit. June Stewart, Gordon Thomson, Dr June Philipp, and Rickard and Helen Burke have each contributed immensely to my understanding of the three main protagonists; without this the cohesive narrative of the thesis and the depth and breadth of analysis could not have been attained. I owe them all my deep gratitude.

I have been enormously helped by many others who have talked about their experiences and have shared their knowledge with me. Amongst these are: Julian Agnew, Dr John Armstrong, Dr Ian Britain, Stephen Coppel, Erwin Fabian, Dr June Factor, Dr Barbara Falk, the late Hilda Fletcher, Klaus Friedeberger, Bob Garlic, Dr Robert Gaston, Dr Richard Haese, Tom Hazel, Professor Peter Herbst, Annely Juda, Jennifer Marshall, Marilyn McBriar, Dr Ian McPhee, Joyce McGrath, Dr Lotte Mulligan, Bernice Murphy, Louise Myer, the late Lenton Parr, the late Dr John Piggot, Professor John Poynter, Harley Preston, Frank Ritchie, Bryan Robertson, Wolfgang Sievers, Professor F.B. Smith, Professor Bernard Smith, John Stringer, Walter Struve, George Tibbits, Professor Peter Tomory, Felix Werder, Terry Whelan, Essie Wicks and Irena Zdanowicz.

Access to restricted or unpublished manuscripts is a great gift to a researcher, and I am immensely grateful to Ursula Hoff and Graham Ryles, Dr Jon Whiteley of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Dr Catherine Speck, Antonio Pagliaro and Chris Wallace Crabbe for permitting me such access. I also thank Dr Kerstin Knight for her invaluable translations and David Loram for his photographic expertise and generous co-operation.

The staff of libraries and archival repositories are without doubt critical to any research student. I am particularly indebted to the following: Michael Watson of the National Gallery of Victoria Shaw Research Library, Jane Brown of the Elisabeth Murdoch Library at the School of Art History, Cinema, Classics and Archaeology, Tony

Miller and the staff of the Baillieu Library and the University of Melbourne Archives; Margaret Shaw of the National Gallery of Australia Research Library and Graeme Powell and the staff of the National Library Canberra; Dermot McCaul and Gerard Hayes of the State Library of Victoria and the staff of the Borchardt Library, La Trobe University. In London, I was greatly assisted by Dorethea McEwan of the Warburg Institute Archive, Tim Davies of the Courtauld Institute Library, the staff of the Tate Gallery Archives, of the Manuscripts Department of the British Library and of the Public Record Office, Kew. Mary Clapinson and Colin Harris of the Department of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and Dr Jon Whiteley and Colin Harrison of the Ashmolean Museum greatly assisted my research in Oxford. My research in Cambridge was facilitated by the staff of Trinity College Library and Kettle's Yard Museum.

Carl Bridge, director of the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, King's College, London, provided access and use of their facilities as well as a welcome place during long days of research in London. Cathy Leahy, Maria Zagala and Kirsty Grant of the Print Department, and Terry Lane and Jennifer Phipps, all of the National Gallery of Victoria, assisted me with requests, questions and important information. I would also like to thank the staff of the Australian Centre.

It was my very good fortune to have Professor Kate Darian-Smith, of the Australian Centre, as a supervisor. Without her advice and belief in this project, it may not have reached its conclusion. In addition, Dr Jeanette Hoorn and Dr Christopher Marshall as supervisors provided valued assistance. Dr Alison Inglis and Dr Charles Green gave valuable advice. All of these I thank sincerely.

I thank most gratefully my friends, both in Australia and England, who were generous with accommodation and helpfulness in many ways. Finally, and most importantly, my deepest thanks go to my daughters, Alexandra and Lily, for their patience and tolerance, and to Philip for his personal support and wise encouragement.

## CONTENTS

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Abstract  | i          |
| Preface   | v          |
| Acknowledgements  | vii        |
| List of Illustrations                                     | xi         |
| Abbreviations   | xiv        |
| <b>Introduction</b>                                       | <b>1</b>   |
| <b>1. The European Crisis</b>                             | <b>17</b>  |
| <i>Ursula Hoff</i>  | 20         |
| <i>The Hamburger School</i>                               | 25         |
| <i>Franz Philipp and the Viennese school</i>              | 36         |
| <i>The Rescue of German scholarship</i>                   | 43         |
| <b>2. Transitions: London 1933–1945</b>                   | <b>51</b>  |
| <i>The dismissed savants</i>                              | 58         |
| <i>The Warburg Institute's relocation</i>                 | 67         |
| <i>Exodus</i>   | 76         |
| <i>Joseph Burke: a minimus incipe</i>                     | 81         |
| <b>3. Relocation to the Antipodes</b>                     | <b>95</b>  |
| <i>The Cinderella continent</i>                           | 97         |
| <i>Desolation and dreams</i>                              | 102        |
| <i>Making connections</i>                                 | 107        |
| <i>Melbourne's Europeanisation</i>                        | 112        |
| <i>A different proposition</i>                            | 120        |
| <i>Melbourne's cultural transition</i>                    | 127        |
| <b>4. The Glass Bead</b>                                  | <b>138</b> |
| <i>Daryl Lindsay and the National Gallery of Victoria</i> | 141        |
| <i>Relocating art</i>                                     | 148        |
| <i>A modern vision</i>                                    | 154        |
| <i>Ursula Hoff: museology and masterpieces</i>            | 157        |
| <i>A chair and a social contract</i>                      | 170        |
| <i>Joseph Burke's arcadia</i>                             | 174        |
| <i>Cultural elitism and the common man</i>                | 182        |
| <i>Franz Philipp and the ideals of scholarship</i>        | 186        |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>5. Melbourne in the 1950s</b>  | 194 |
| <i>Mostly a man's world</i>   | 197 |
| <i>Cultural courtships</i>  | 202 |
| <i>The partnership: art and education</i>   | 208 |
| <i>New blood and old</i>  | 217 |
| <i>Bernard Smith, Eric Westbrook: Culture, capitalism and consumerism</i>                       | 230 |
| <i>The spectacle of culture</i>   | 237 |
| <i>Traditional forte</i>  | 243 |
| <b>Epilogue: Et in Arcadia Ego</b>  | 248 |
| <b>Bibliography</b>   | 254 |
| <b>Appendix A: Joseph Burke Archive</b>   | 272 |
| <b>Appendix B: Report to the State Library of Victoria on Ursula Hoff's<br/>Private Library</b> | 287 |

## Illustrations

1. Detail of map of Europe c 1912 – *Historischer Schul-Atlas*, Leipzig, 1924. Ursula Hoff's school atlas, c. 1925.
2. Ursula Hoff, passport photograph, Hamburg, 1 July 1933 – HP/Private.
3. German art historians, Hamburg *Kunsthalle*, press photograph, 1927, showing A=Warburg, B=Tolnay, C=Panofsky, D=Saxl – Source: *Kunstchronik*, EML.
4. Oskar Kokoschka, *Die Windsbraut*, 1914, (*the Tempest* or *The bride of the wind*), Oil on canvas, 181x 220cm, Basle *Kunstmuseum* – Originally purchased for the Hamburg *Kunsthalle*, 1924. Confiscated by the Nazis and exhibited in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibitions, sold Lucerne in 1939. In Stephanie Barron, *'Degenerate art': the fate of the avant-garde in Nazi Germany*, pp. 42, 58, 95, 128, 129.
5. Aby Warburg, 1925 – Source unknown, EML.
6. Fritz Saxl on a ladder in the Warburg Institute Library, Hamburg, ink drawing attributed to Aby Warburg – Warburg Institute Photographic Library.
7. Erwin Panofsky, front, second from left, and students on a picnic, Hamburg, c. 1932, Ursula Hoff is seated on Panofsky's right – HP/Private.
8. Reading Room, Warburg Institute, Hamburg, 1926 – In Robert Galitz und Brita Reimers, *Aby M. Warburg: 'Ekstatische Nympe... trauernder Flussgott', Portrait eines Gelehrten*, Hamburg, Dolling und Galitz, 1995, p. 49.
9. Julius von Schlosser – Source unknown, EML.
10. Ernst Gombrich, 1930s – Warburg Institute Photographic Library.
11. Robert Trevelyan in his Library, The Shiffolds, c mid 1930s – HP/Private.
12. The 'dismissed savants', Ernst and Ilse Gombrich, Weiss, Otto Kurz, England c. 1936 – Warburg Institute Photographic Library.
13. Andrea Del Sarto, *Saint John the Baptist*, 1516–17, red chalk drawing. Collection: National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1936 (originally in the Henry Oppenheimer collection of Old Master drawings).
14. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Study for one of the elders*, c. 1635–40, reed pen and bistre, Collection: National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest. 1936, (originally in the Henry Oppenheimer collection of Old Master drawings).
15. Erwin Panofsky, c.1930s – Warburg Institute Photographic Collection.
16. Hitler and Goebbels viewing the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, 1937 – H. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art*, p. 475.
17. Felix Vallotton, *La Manifestation*, 1881 (the Uprising) woodcut, Collection: National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1944, (originally in the Victor Singer collection).
18. German School, *Mary, St. John and St. Mary Magdalene*. c. 1470, limewood and polychrome, Collection: National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1941, (originally in the Ullman collection).
19. Simon Marmion, *The Virgin and child*, c.1465–75, oil on panel, 37.6 x 27.7cm – Collection: National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1954, (originally in the Czartoryski family collection).

20. Joseph Burke, passport photograph, c. 1944 – BP/Private.
21. Clement Attlee, Winston Churchill, Sir John Anderson, Lord Woolton – BP/Private.
22. Attlee and Burke descending steps at *Sans Souci*, Potsdam, 1945 – BP/Private.
23. 'Hitler's loss our gain', cover design by Noel Counihan – UMA.
24. Albert Tucker, *Pick up*, oil, 1941, Collection: National Gallery of Australia, in Mollison and Bonham *Albert Tucker*, Macmillan, 1982, p.88.
25. Erwin Fabian, *Sleepers in landscape*, gouache, 1942 – Collection: National Gallery of Victoria.
26. Ludvig Hirschfeld-Mack, *Desolation, internment camp, Orange, NSW*, 1940–1 – Collection: National Gallery of Victoria.
27. Ursula Hoff, 1939, passport photograph – HP/Private.
28. Women's College, University of Melbourne, c. 1940 – HP/Private.
29. Albrecht Dürer, *Knight, Death and the Devil*, 1513, engraving – Collection: National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest 1956.
30. Hubert Lanzinger, *The flag bearer*, oil – US Army Art Collection. From Peter Adam, *Art of the Third Reich*, Harry, N. Abrams, p. 18.
31. Sir Keith Murdoch, c.1940s – source unknown, EML.
32. Gino and Elvira Nibbi, *Leonardo's Bookshop*, c. 1930s – in Desmond O'Grady *Corregio Jones and the runaways*, Cardigan Street Publishers, 1995, p. 78.
33. Arthur Boyd, *Abraham and the Angels*, 1946, oil on canvas – Collection unknown; in *Arthur Boyd*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1967, pp. 46–7 and 241 (originally in the collection of Franz and June Philipp)
34. Sidney Nolan, *Dimboola*, 1944 – Collection: Heide Museum and Art Gallery.
35. Daryl Lindsay, Director, National Gallery of Victoria, 1942–1956 – Photograph by Athol Shmith from Franz Philipp and June Stewart, (Eds), *In honour of Daryl Lindsay*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1964.
36. Käthe Kollwitz, *Überfahren*, etching, 1910 – collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest 1944, (originally in the Victor Singer collection).
37. Ursula Hoff in the Print Room, National Gallery of Victoria, c. 1945–50 – HP/Private.
38. Erich Heckel, *Two women in a landscape*, 1919, woodcut, 46 x 32.5cm, – collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, 1956 – in Ann Galbally *The Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria*, Oxford University Press, 1987, p.229.
39. Gerard ter Borch, *Lady with fan*, c. 1660, oil on canvas, 67.7 x 51.2cm – collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1945.
40. William Blake, *The Vestibule of Hell and the Souls Mustering to Cross the Acheron*, watercolour, 1824–27 – collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest 1920.
41. Jean-Etienne Liotard, *A Lady in a Turkish Dress*, chalk drawing, 17.6 x 22.8cm – collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1951 – in Jaynie Anderson, 'In homage to Ursula Hoff', *Art and Australia*, xxxviii (no. 2, 2000), 253.
42. Nicolas Poussin, *The crossing of the Red Sea*, c. 1635–38, oil on canvas, 155.6 x 215.3cm – collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1948.

43. Joseph Burke, *Herald Professor of Fine Arts*, 1947 – in Norman MacGeorge *The Arts in Australia*, Cheshire, 1948, p.58.
44. Franz Philipp, 1947 – possession of Dr June Philipp.
45. Franz Philipp, 1948 – possession of Dr June Philipp.
46. Lunch at Jimmy Watson's, Christmas Eve 1952 – possession of June Stewart.
47. Lunch at Jimmy Watson's, Christmas Eve 1952 – possession of June Stewart.
48. John Brack, *Portrait of Dr Ursula Hoff*, drawing, 1954 – private collection, in Sasha Grishin *The art of John Brack*, vol. II, catalogue raisonné, Melbourne, OUP, 1990, p.195.
49. Joseph Burke and Bernard Smith, c. 1960 – possession of Professor Bernard Smith.
50. Eric Westbrook, Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, c. 1960 in Christopher Heathcote, *A Quiet Revolution*, Melbourne, Text Publishing, 1995.
51. Ursula Hoff, 1959, passport photograph – HP/Private.
52. Franz Philipp, 1958, photograph by Nigel Buesst, The Grange, Harkaway, in Virginia Spate, 'Franz Philipp', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no. 4, 1993), 516.



## Abbreviations

For abbreviations used for manuscript collections and repositories not listed below, see section I of the Bibliography (pp. 255–6)

AAC – Academic Assistance Council.  
AGNSW – Art Gallery of New South Wales.  
CAE – Council of Adult Education.  
CEMA – Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts.  
CIA – Courtauld Institute Archives.  
CUP – Cambridge University Press  
EML – Elisabeth Murdoch Library, School of Art History, Cinema Studies, Classics and Archaeology, University of Melbourne.  
MOI – Ministry of Information.  
MUP – Melbourne University Press  
NGA – National Gallery of Australia  
NGV – National Gallery of Victoria.  
SRL – Shaw Research Library, National Gallery of Victoria.  
NLA – National Library of Australia  
OUP – Oxford University Press  
SLV – State Library of Victoria.  
SPSL – Society for Protection of Science and Learning.  
UMA – University of Melbourne Archives  
VIREC – Victorian International Refugee Emergency Council.  
WI – Warburg Institute.

## Note on Citations

In footnote citations throughout this dissertation all references to the three principal protagonists in the work, Ursula Hoff, Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke, are by surname only. It should also be noted that certain manuscript collections relating to the National Gallery of Victoria have been reorganized and in some cases located in different institutions during the course of the research for this dissertation. All citations to these collections are to how they were designated and located prior to these changes.

## Introduction

The great European diaspora — which occurred between 1933 and 1945, with further waves of refugees moving well into the 1950s — scattered many intellectuals and artists across the world. Their relocation to Australia and their impact on educational and cultural environments particularly in Melbourne during the Second World War and post-war period is explored in this thesis. Of primary importance is the analysis of the roles of the three European art historians — Ursula Hoff, Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke — who provide a new perspective on the development of the study of art history, critique and curatorial and collecting practices. Individually and collectively these scholars were responsible for transmitting new paradigms of art history as an academic discipline in Australia, and introducing innovative art museological practices during the 1940s and 1950s. Their distinctive cultural and intellectual attributes can be more fully understood by studying the major political, educational and societal changes that forced their journey to Australia.

Ursula Hoff, born in 1909, studied art history under Erwin Panofsky at the Hamburg University and Fritz Saxl at the Warburg Institute in Hamburg during the early 1930s. Her connection with the London and continental art worlds from that period gave her access and knowledge that manifestly informed her professional role at the National Gallery of Victoria from 1943 to 1984 and the School of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne from 1948 to 1974. Franz Philipp (1914–1970) studied art history under Julius von Schlosser, Hans Sedlmayr and Hans Tietze at the University of Vienna between 1933 and 1938. His appointment to the newly founded School of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne in 1948 determined much of that school's structure and he was responsible for instituting a rigorous standard of 'continental' scholarship. In the 1930s, Joseph Burke (1913–1992) graduated from King's College and the Courtauld Institute of Art in the University of London and from Yale University, where he studied literature and art history. This was at a time when exiled German scholars were altering British and American intellectual and art historical

processes. As the inaugural Herald Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne from 1947, his role as an educator and cultural reformer was a significant one.

The non-English Europeans, Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp, were inheritors and bearers of the German intellectual tradition, that of the neo-Kantian and Hegelian trope of *Weltgeist* — the unity of culture and the universal spirit. This romantic intellectual rationalism embraced an empirical approach to the investigation of culture and emphasised the need 'to elevate the individual to a superior level of existence through the cultivation of his ethical, artistic, and intellectual abilities'.<sup>1</sup> As an Englishman, Joseph Burke assumed a more eclectic intellectual approach to culture, seeking to hinge Ruskinian values onto a continental style of scholarship. He was able to reappraise antipodean life and culture both in its modern manifestation and within traditional English and Celtic paradigms.

Great works of art belong to many: not only their creator, but the art dealer, the connoisseur, the patron, the art historian, the gallery director, art curators and the public, and they exist across time, as well as being representative of the 'communal temper' of their time. This was the philosophy that Ursula Hoff, as a scholar of art working within an art museum, accorded to art history. Franz Philipp shared this view but was more intellectually focused upon the *Geisteswissenschaften*, the 'sciences of the mind', and the precise analysis of a work of art, emphasising the critical value of the textual in conjunction with the iconographic and iconological. Joseph Burke preferred to work art into and around its sociological and cultural context. Collectively, they helped to relocate, revive and resituate the study of art within an Australian and international context.

This research elucidates the contiguous impact of Ursula Hoff, Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke — and other individuals closely associated with them, such as Keith Murdoch, Daryl Lindsay, A. D. Trendall, Bernard Smith and Eric Westbrook — and in particular their contribution to the intellectual, scholarly and museological evolution in Australia. The investigation is specifically located on the National Gallery of Victoria

---

<sup>1</sup> David R. Lipton, Ernst Cassirer: the dilemma of a liberal intellectual in Germany, 1914–33, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978, p.4.

and the Fine Arts Department of the University of Melbourne. Through these institutions can be seen how the politics of culture, education and intellectual standards changed over the two decades of the 1940s and 1950s. Running parallel, but often in contrast to these changes, was the emergence of exciting new modes of expression and a new cultural assessment, which may be seen as representative of the war and post-war period. This cultural phenomenon could only have developed to the degree that it did in Australia through the arrival and implantation of European intellectual and artistic processes. American popular cultural and economic influences are also acknowledged in this period of Australian cultural history.

There are several distinct but inter-related stories in this thesis. The first relates to the European crisis that culminated in the Second World War, where dictators were prepared to risk sovereignty, state, culture and lives for supreme control. Europe during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s was a continent in conflict. From here emerged scholars in the arts and sciences who were to become transformative on a broad cultural level. The centrality of art and culture in the lives of educated and cultured bourgeoisie often illuminated adjacent political, social and cultural conditions. To some art was the heart of intellectual and cultural pursuit, while for others the cultural object became a ticket of barter, or a means of survival. In the flux of this period many important and tangential individuals were relocated and cultural material resituated, epitomizing the critical nature of the changes occurring. In chapter one, after a general outline of the European cultural and political climate of the first decades of the twentieth century, the emphasis of this thesis shifts to the site-specific and explores the various educational and institutional schools which influenced the two non-English European scholars, Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp. The focus is on the innovative programmes of art historical processes then active in Hamburg and Vienna.

The second narrative, addressed in chapter two, considers the impact of the *Mitteleuropean* diaspora and its cultural and intellectual effect on Great Britain. London became a juncture for exiles escaping from Hitler's Nazism. For the majority of German and Austrian Jews, England was a revolving door to another country, but London also became a centre for accommodating the more highly educated of the 'dismissed savants'. Several of these scholars had been Ursula Hoff's and Franz

Philipp's teachers in Hamburg and Vienna, and in their London exile some of them became intellectual influences upon Joseph Burke. In this chapter the relocation and survival of art, culture and scholarship is explored through those scholars and artists who carried knowledge and works of art to safe havens and countries throughout the Western world. Within this historical environment, the lives of the German Jewish émigré Ursula Hoff and the young English art student and civil servant Joseph Burke are investigated. With the convergence of the exiled scholars and artists in London, British cultural and philosophical thought was irrefutably altered, and their presence accelerated the transmission of continental scholarship and works of art into the English speaking world. Joseph Burke was able to tap into what might be called 'the intellectual coalition' of the continental scholars who had adapted themselves within the English system. After her escape to London from Hamburg in 1933, Ursula Hoff, who was at the time a student of German modern scholarship, was included briefly within this English phenomenon. The third protagonist, Franz Philipp, insulated in Vienna, had desperately tried to gain entry to London after the *Anschluss*, but failed.

The Second World War altered the paths of Burke, Hoff and Philipp, and the story relocates from England to Australia where each of these scholars arrived at different times under vastly different conditions. Their arrival, adaptation and inclusion within an alien environment is explored in chapters three and four, in which the specific cultural conditions characteristic of Australia, and Melbourne in particular, during the Second World War and the early post-war climate are examined. Through the crisis of migration, the European émigrés and refugees experienced shifting perspectives, and as they were forced to move across continents they had to question profoundly their place in the world. How would they fit into an indefinable future or how might they adapt within a new culture? Without traditional European conditions, family or friends, often with little but a suitcase containing a few chosen items, their identities were temporarily suspended. With a loss of connection there is inevitably 'a loss of predictable narrative'<sup>2</sup> and Hoff and Philipp experienced this, although with time they mapped their lives and co-ordinated new associations and dialogues. Thomas

---

<sup>2</sup> Susannah Egan, keynote lecture, Biography and Autobiography Symposium, Centre for Cross Cultural Research, Australian National University, Canberra, 24 April 2001.

Mann has referred to the effects of the European crisis as 'the search rising from disintegration, for the beginnings of new forces of order',<sup>3</sup> and from which a chrysalising process of renewal emerged. Hoff, Philipp and Burke were part of this new restructuring of cultural processes.

These three scholars converged in Melbourne to create one of the most fruitful intellectual and educational alliances in Australian cultural history, developing collaborative intellectual and cultural programmes between the National Gallery of Victoria and the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne. This is more fully explored in chapter four, but the contributions of other significant European émigrés and refugees are also acknowledged in these chapters. While the decade of the 1950s was a time of innovation, achievement and success for each of the scholars, it was also a time of new political and cultural changes associated with the cold war. This decade was cuspidal, particularly for Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp, whose ideological aspirations began to move in different directions from other important individuals within this study. Gradually their views were eclipsed by the more spectacular social and cultural commitments connected with American modernism, and this is explored in chapter five.

One of the most critical psychological dimensions that any immigrant or exiled person possesses is belonging to *deux rivages*. Two shores, plural cultures and many languages create particular circumstances. The inevitable *arrière-pensée*, the reflection in the mirror of another, older world affected the émigrés' reactions to situations and people. During the early years of Ursula Hoff's and Franz Philipp's careers in Australia their contribution and impact was defined by their 'otherness', while Joseph Burke's official authority was immediately accepted by Australians because of their familiarity with British modes of behaviour. However, each individual confirmed their cultural function through the fine arts. Their intellectual approach towards aesthetic structures became the foundation of a new cultural paradigm in the fine arts in Australia. Therefore, it is important to set these scholars' achievements both within a national as well as a wider context of European influences on Australia.

---

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Mann, *Doctor Faustus*, trans. by H.T. Lowe-Porter, London, Penguin, 1968, p.122.

It is important also to give some definition to the word 'European' and the demarcation of Britain within it. While Joseph Burke qualifies as European by the term's broader categorization, his position nonetheless remains different to the non-English European case studies. Britain has always been part of Europe, but it has retained a peculiarly unique 'island' position, its independence being immanent within its geographical separation and exclusive of other European nations. European nations developed their national 'will' or 'their profoundest intuitions'<sup>4</sup> by atavistic idealism, which was empowered by the European enlightenment. As Neal Ascherson suggests:

Central Europe wasn't just a place of progressive cultural and scientific ideas. It was also a place where the most terrible distortions of the Enlightenment arose. Central Europeans invented romantic nationalism...but then they invented totalitarianism ... This is where Marxism, but particularly the perversions of Marxism, originated. This is where fascism essentially arose — Middle Europe, with its hatreds, its confusions, its whirling melting-pot of populations...<sup>5</sup>

As a result of imperial and maritime superiority, England since the sixteenth century and up to the First World War, had been a ruling power against which other European nations had to equate their own positions. By the 1930s Europe was in conflict and chaos, with boundaries being changed, nationalism questioned and progress uprooted and replaced by barbarism.<sup>6</sup> This captures a succinct and quintessential notion of Europe. Australia recognised Great Britain as 'home' because it was part of the Empire and a Dominion nation; Europe was 'foreign', but it was not immune from the strategic political and cultural evolution that was occurring.

When Hoff, Philipp and Burke assembled professionally in Melbourne in the late 1940s there was an acknowledged unifying European bond between them, but one that contained definite national differences. Gradually, over two decades, that initial bonding condition dissolved and Hoff and Philipp's inherent Eurocentricity reasserted. What remains critical was that these three European scholars became singly and collectively important to both the establishment of art history as an academic discipline

<sup>4</sup> Henry Paolucci, *Hegel: on the arts*, New York, Frederick Ungar, 1979, p.xix.

<sup>5</sup> Neal Ascherson, 'Nations and Regions' in Richard Kearney, *States of mind: dialogues with contemporary thinkers on the European mind*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1995, pp.15–16.

<sup>6</sup> See Kearney, *States of Mind*, and in particular interviews with Julia Kristeva, George Steiner, Umberto Eco.

in Australia as well as to the embellishment and understanding of art and culture, both in its historical and contemporary condition. It was not just the understanding of the rich treasures of Europe and the classical worlds, but through their critical knowledge and their intellectual resources they re-cast views and curiosity towards a part of Australia's own colonial and post-colonial history. Ursula Hoff's pioneering article 'Reflections of the Heidelberg School, 1885–1900', written in 1951, shows her understanding of the contributing forces towards a nascent Australian nationalism and explores the exchanges and adjustments of a European vision, as well as the influential markings that European culture had made upon the national art and specific artists in Australia.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Franz Philipp's magnum opus, *Arthur Boyd*, published in 1967,<sup>8</sup> became a 'definitive text' and as Hoff herself wrote, a 'perceptive analysis of Boyd's imaginative repertoire'.<sup>9</sup> It was example of how the European intellectual brought a depth of interpretation that more firmly connected Australian artistic and intellectual practice directly to European sources. Philipp's book created a new benchmark in Australian art historical research as well as placing intellectual value on Australian art and contemporary artists.

In accounts of Australian intellectual history, various scholars have emphasised the paucity of circles of intellectuals in Australia during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>10</sup> The inclusion of European intellectuals within the Australian literary and educational system from around 1940 not only expanded the intellectual field but gave a universalist texture that brought it more in line with issues of international concern. It is necessary therefore to qualify the term 'intellectual'. T.B. Bottomore considers intellectuals as one of 'the most difficult groups to define, and their social influence is the most difficult to determine'. The word *intelligentsia*, according to Bottomore, 'was first used in the nineteenth century in Russia to refer to those who had received a university education which qualifies them for professional occupations'. 'The

<sup>7</sup> Hoff, 'Reflections on the Heidelberg School, 1885–1900', *Meanjin*, x (no.1, 1951), pp.132–3.

<sup>8</sup> Philipp, *Arthur Boyd*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1967.

<sup>9</sup> Hoff, *The art of Arthur Boyd*, London, André Deutsch, 1986, p.10.

<sup>10</sup> See selected works by Humphrey MacQueen, John Docker, *Australian cultural elites: intellectual traditions in Sydney and Melbourne*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1974; *Meanjin*, 1945–60; and Peter Beilharz, *Imagining the antipodes: culture, theory and the visual in the work of Bernard Smith*, Melbourne, CUP, 1997.



intellectuals,' Bottomore claims, 'are generally regarded as comprising the much smaller group of those who contribute directly to the creation, transmission and criticism of ideas':<sup>11</sup> this definition is used in this thesis.

European intellectuals arriving in Australia between 1940 and 1960 mark another pinnacle of cultural and intellectual adjustment and development, but they also highlight the alienation and conservative climate that dominated Australian society. While American influences were part of the competing consumerist and popular cultural practices operating in Australia around this period, the impact of the Europeans at the higher educational, scientific and cultural level was a vitally defining force.

Historians and writers such as Geoffrey Serle, Robin Boyd, Bernard Smith, David Walker, Richard Haese, John F. Williams, Kate Darian-Smith, Harriet Edquist, Christopher Heathcote and others have written accounts of the cultural and social evolution in Melbourne from the mid 1930s through to the post-war period — one of the more decisive periods in Australian history.<sup>12</sup> The particular research in this thesis, however, emphasises the seminal role of the European scholars, historians, curators and artists who were active in the fine arts, and in particular the ways that they transmitted their intellectual and cultural material to Australia. Their absorption into Melbourne institutions and groups assisted with the direction and the outcome of Australian creative forces.

Though many refugees and émigrés from the European crisis began arriving in Australia prior to the Second World War,<sup>13</sup> by 1940 their numbers had gathered momentum. Of those arriving around 1940, a large percentage were German and

<sup>11</sup> T. B. Bottomore, *Elites and society*, London, Routledge, 1993, p.53.

<sup>12</sup> See Peter Coleman (ed.), *Australian civilisation*, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1962; Geoffrey Serle, *From the deserts the prophets come*, Melbourne, Heineman, 1973; David Walker, *Dream and disillusion: a search for Australian cultural identity*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1976; Richard White, *Inventing Australia: images and identity, 1688–1980*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1981; Robin Boyd, *The Australian ugliness*, Melbourne, Penguin Books, 1960; Bernard Smith, *Australian painting*, Melbourne, OUP, 1962; Richard Haese, *Rebels and precursors: the rise of Australian art, 1946–1968*, Melbourne, Penguin Books, 1988; Kate Darian-Smith, *On the home front: Melbourne in wartime, 1939–1945*, Melbourne, OUP, 1990; Christopher Heathcote, *A quiet revolution: the rise of Australian art, 1946–1968*, Melbourne, Text Publishing, 1995; John F. Williams, *The quarantined culture: Australian reactions to modernism, 1913–1939*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Brown, Danila Vassilieff, Yosli Bergner, Gino Nibbi, Judah Waten and Wolfgang Seivers arrived before 1940.

Austrian born 'enemy aliens' from Britain via official military transport, and included a significant number of intellectuals, many of whom were of Jewish origin. These people were interned and after their release, several became seminal to the educational, intellectual and cultural structures in Australia. Indeed, the two decades between 1940 and 1960 belong in many ways to the Europeans. The societies to which they fled experienced an efflorescence in terms of culture. In Australia music, film, theatre, literature, architecture, photography and the fine arts were revitalised by their presence and contributions. Through individuals such as Ursula Hoff, Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke the critical paradigms of European art and cultural history were more clearly demarcated, against which Australian artists, curators and academics could construct with greater confidence an Australian cultural identity. Furthermore, under the sponsorship of Sir Keith Murdoch and through the collaboration of Burke, Philipp and Hoff, the first School of Art History in Australia was established at the University of Melbourne.<sup>14</sup> These three European scholars shaped its construction and developed the academic principles from which a programme of education produced scholarly offspring and artists who became a vibrant force in modern Australian art and art history.

### Methodology and Sources

Writing the history of the arrival and impact of the European émigrés, scholars and artists in Melbourne during the period from the mid 1930s to 1960 is an immense research project, even when it is confined to a specific group.<sup>15</sup> In the first instance it was necessary to contextualise those environments in which the three main protagonists moved, and in order to 'inhabit' the decades of the 1930s, 1940s and

<sup>14</sup> Bernard Smith's arrival in 1956 augmented what had previously been established by Burke, Philipp and Hoff.

<sup>15</sup> James Jupp has provided important statistical sources of elite migrants in Australia; see his *Arrivals and departures*, Melbourne, Cheshire-Lansdowne, 1966 and 'The ethnic composition of Australian elites' in *The encyclopedia of the Australian people*, Canberra, Research School of Social Sciences, 1988.

1950s, I embarked on an extensive interviewing programme. The selection of individuals for interview was based on the need to elicit information on how professional relationships retarded or extended the cultural horizon, particularly that of Melbourne in the 1950s. Many of the private stories revealed how the translocation of lives tended to diminish some intellectual and cultural traditions and change personal criteria and boundaries. With over seventy interviews, this research presents primary material, 'oral testimonies', that reflect the roles of certain individuals within a complex social and cultural frame. Furthermore, these interviews provide an invaluable resource for contextualizing the institutional histories of the University of Melbourne and the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>16</sup>

Oral history — information that is 'drawn from the speaker's knowledge; the use or interpretation of this as an academic subject'<sup>17</sup> — enhances the biographical method on which this thesis has historiographically and methodologically been constructed. While interviews offer a valid perspective of a cultural environment or a political event, they are nevertheless reliant on the psychology of perception and become information that 'lies somewhere between the actual social behaviour and the social expectations of the time'.<sup>18</sup> The interviewees — mainly colleagues, friends, relatives and students of the main protagonists — were intellectuals, whose views were judicious and respectful of individuals and the period in question. These interviews were carried out predominantly in Melbourne, though some eight interviews were conducted in England. The aim was to harvest and cross-reference issues that were critical in the careers and lives of the protagonists. I was fortunate to talk to a number of people whose memories of the 1930s remained crisp and insightful. Annely Juda, aged ninety and still active in her Derring Street Fine Art Gallery in London's art precinct, recalled her arrival in that city as a European exile in the 1930s. Time had not lessened the evocative excitement, struggle, or the triumph of survival and success that characterised this continental refugee's life. Similarly Julian Agnew, Professor Peter

<sup>16</sup> Complementing, in particular, Leonard Cox, *The National Gallery of Victoria, 1861–1968: in search of a collection*, Melbourne, The National Gallery of Victoria, [1970] and John Poynter, *Mr Felton's bequest*, Melbourne, Miegunyah, 2003.

<sup>17</sup> See the *New shorter Oxford dictionary*, p.2013.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Thompson, *The voice of the past*, Oxford, OUP, 2000, p.128.

Tomory and Professor Joseph Trapp all provided vital information on the English cultural and intellectual environment.

The other important method of historical reconstruction was through research into archival material. The Sir Kenneth Clark Papers at the Tate Gallery Archives and the Clement Attlee Papers and the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning archive at the Bodleian Library, Oxford were especially important, as were the Ministry of Information papers at the Public Record Office in London. These embellished the political and military environment of which Joseph Burke became so rapidly a part. In Oxford, the Senior Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the Ashmolean Museum and Art Gallery, Dr Jon Whiteley, and his assistant Colin Harrison, directed me to the 'Calmann memoirs', an unpublished and restricted autobiography of a Hamburg Jewish refugee who became a successful émigré dealer of old master drawings in London from the late 1930s to the early 1970s. Hans Calmann and Ursula Hoff knew one another, possibly from Hamburg, but re-established their acquaintance as émigrés in London in the later part of the 1930s. The Sir Keith Murdoch Papers, the Cathy Peake Papers at the National Library of Australia, the Daryl Lindsay and Lionel Lindsay Papers at the State Library of Victoria, and the Ursula Hoff Papers and the Joseph Burke papers, both these collections at the University of Melbourne Archives and in private hands, were all seminal to creating as complete a corpus of information as was possible. Other papers held in the National Gallery of Victoria Shaw Research Library, the State Library of Victoria, the National Gallery of Australia Research Library, and the University of Melbourne Archives were also invaluable.

Access to restricted transcripts and private journals enormously broadened the tenor of the thesis and provided insights that otherwise may have remained shadowy. The Warburg Institute's archivist guided me through critical correspondence of the 'dismissed savants', and many of the photographic images add face and character to the text. In addition, I catalogued a large collection of exhibition catalogues and associated material gathered by Joseph Burke from 1947 to 1976, held at the Fine Arts Library in the School of Art History at the University of Melbourne, which in itself

constitutes an important art resource archive of Australian art.<sup>19</sup> In making a selection of Dr Ursula Hoff's private library on behalf of the State Library of Victoria, I was able more fully to appreciate and understand the profile of this scholar and the intellectual tools she used, as well as compiling a list of these works for the library.<sup>20</sup>

Cultural history has gained a vitally important place within the critical evaluation of historiography, and to place biography within this cultural genre adds a greater enrichment to areas of inquiry such as social history, literary and art history, gender studies and popular culture.<sup>21</sup> The Italian historian Arnaldo Momigliano 'believed that biography was an important means of understanding the past. For him the lives and aspirations of historical figures provided a point of entry into their world and their traditions.'<sup>22</sup> The process of defining cultural history can, in Momigliano's view, be more thoroughly contextualised by the use of biography. But this was not a new way of culturally defining history. James Michael Weiss wrote that biography came of legitimate age in Germany with Melchior Adam, the Calvinist pedagogue, poet and historian, and that through the German universities of the 1400s and 1500s, and the 'heightened importance... for German polemics... [particularly] in theology and law', a significant part of the 'humanist cult of reputation' was born.<sup>23</sup> Through biography — the 'cult of reputation' — important individuals inform us about the world from which they came, and — in the case of the displaced *Mitteleuropean* scholars of the 1930s and 1940s — that in which they finally settled.

An emphasis on the portrait photograph — image — is used in this thesis as a visual record that not only enhances the genre of biography, but also fulfils one of its objectives as a method of documenting identity during exigent periods of personal movement, dislocation and loss. A major objective of this research was to sensitively locate and follow the processes of identity as these three important intellectuals were

<sup>19</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>20</sup> Appendix B.

<sup>21</sup> Mark Micale and Robert Dietle (eds), *Enlightenment, passion and modernity: historical essays in European thought and culture*, California, Stanford University Press, 2000, p.xvii.

<sup>22</sup> Bowersock, G. W. and T. J. Cornell (eds), *A.D. Momigliano: studies on modern scholarship*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994, p.vii.

<sup>23</sup> James Michael Weiss, 'The harvest of German humanism: Melchior Adam's collective biographies as cultural history' in Manfred P. Fleischer (ed.), *The harvest of humanism in central Europe: essays in honor of Lewis W. Spitz*, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1992, pp.341–350.

relocated within a disordered world. Michael Ann Holly has suggested that 'Images are so often what we depend on in order to take note of what has passed away',<sup>24</sup> and specific works of art — images — have been selected that entered the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria during the period under study. Some of these works are encoded with histories of dispossession, survival and financial exchange such as Kollwitz's *Überfahren*, Vallaton's *La Manifestation* or Marmion's *The Virgin and Child*, and reinforce Holly's notion of image as evidence of a transitional historical process.

The 'dismissed savants', victims of what historians claim as possibly the most critical diaspora of intellectuals to have occurred in modern history, were forced to leave behind careers and cultures seminal to the structure of their lives. What they retained in their exile was the conviction of their knowledge and cultural formation. In some cases they were also able to take part of their libraries and art collections — all transportable, valuable and potent commodities — that reflected their past and informed their present. A person's private and interior life is implicit in their exterior life — and determines how and what they are able to give. It is important to investigate that life in its form, content and national context. Bernard Smith has stated that a biographer or an historian needs 'distance from one's own time'.<sup>25</sup> With regard to 'position and position taking',<sup>26</sup> the emphasis in this thesis has been to sagaciously resituate material and stories of the three major scholars — to validate and excavate, both for the Australian and the London period, what might be called the iconography of the climate of the decades under study.

This project aligns academic research with certain works of art that were purchased by and exhibited at the National Gallery of Victoria after the Second World War, thus illustrating further the impact of European culture and the enrichment of the National Gallery of Victoria's collection. The noted Viennese art historian Ernst Gombrich regarded 'every work of art as an incommensurable individual

<sup>24</sup> Michael Ann Holly, 'Mourning and Method', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. LXXXIV (no. 4) New York, College Art Association, 2002, p. 660.

<sup>25</sup> Bernard Smith, interview, 7 June 2001.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

expression',<sup>27</sup> but some works of art carry silent or unexplored stories. Art curators and connoisseurs help unfold the history of the work, its previous owners and its survival, and Ursula Hoff began to institute the basic modern format of art catalogues for the National Gallery of Victoria from 1948. However, many spectators in museums are unaware in some cases of the extraordinary histories of exchange and ownership associated with cultural material. The fact that the sale of some masterpieces enabled a family to eat, live or escape tyranny attaches another unique aspect of cultural history to the object and transforms it from an aesthetic symbol into one which is expressive of civilization's darker nature. Gombrich also wrote that metaphors 'gave man a symbol of value' and value can be equated to the rise, progress or regress of civilisation.<sup>28</sup> Gombrich, who took a non-Hegelian attitude towards art, agreed in part with his teacher Julius von Schlosser that every work of art owed its allegiance to other artists and had historical precedents, while at the same time it was 'an incommensurable individual expression'.<sup>29</sup> This reasoning is not incompatible, but Gombrich, as a theorist, also believed in collective determinism, that 'Art is just not 'the expression of the age', [but] it is also the work of people who have to find approval if they want to live.'<sup>30</sup> This takes art out of the artists' hands and into the service of others. It is in this service of others that I place a corrective emphasis in regard to the place, history and importance of major works of art. Ursula Hoff, therefore, is accorded distinction for her curatorial management and her role in the acquisition of art for the National Gallery of Victoria.

The period of western civilization from the industrial revolution through to the Second World War, involved a profound questioning by the intelligentsia and artists of man's survival in a materialistic, strategically oriented world, a world, so it seemed, that was intent on 'talk[ing] itself to a sordid death.'<sup>31</sup> Scientific rationalism, Darwinian theories, and Marxist oriented investigations as well as an increasing intellectualism and an ever-growing nationalism, had progressively replaced the

<sup>27</sup> Ernst Gombrich, 'Art and scholarship', in *Meditations on a hobby horse and other essays on the theory of art*, London, Phaidon, 1963, p.112.

<sup>28</sup> Gombrich, 'Visual metaphors of value in art', *ibid*, p.27.

<sup>29</sup> Gombrich, 'Art and Scholarship' in *ibid*, p.112.

<sup>30</sup> Gombrich, 'Visual metaphors', p.29.

<sup>31</sup> George Steiner, *Real presences*, London, Faber, 1989, p.112.

spiritual. When artists began to counteract the spiritual denial<sup>32</sup> with acts of vitalistic expression — ‘all serious art, music and literature is a critical act’<sup>33</sup> — they functioned as signifiers of a society’s psychological wellspring or malaise. The first decades of the twentieth century in Europe are evidence of this, and the production of visual metaphors represented the urgent empirical nature of the enquiry into the recent past and the revolutionary present. Few art historians and artists living in this period could have avoided the volatile climate, and the movements residing in the modernist period and the arts in general attest to the reactive engagement and creative responses of sociological change.<sup>34</sup>

It is often clarifying to reflect on recent history and its referential position to the present. The art or cultural historian strives to offer explanations of the place of art and its historicity as a medium for traversing positions of difference within civilization’s spectrum. In this it is tempting to romanticise the individual or the cultural object that emerges within society as an iconic force, but it is necessary nevertheless to acknowledge that in the case of Ursula Hoff, Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke, each had — to varying degrees — a particular omnipresence within the development of post-war Melbourne culture. Through their contributions as scholars to the fine arts environment of Melbourne, they formed one of the more important intellectual and cultural groups in twentieth-century Australia. Their presence as teachers of a formal trans-cultural discourse was an essential component of Australia’s intellectual and cultural transformation at one of the most complex and culturally rich intersections in this country’s history.

---

<sup>32</sup> William Blake revived the spiritual in art. Kandinsky was at the forefront of spiritual vitalism in the first part of the twentieth century in Europe. Arthur Boyd, Justin O’Brien, Michael Kmit, Colin McCahan were more prominent antipodean artists dealing with the spiritual in art during the 1940s and 1950s.

<sup>33</sup> Steiner, *Real Presences*, p.11.

<sup>34</sup> In Europe the art movements which most forcibly expressed this mood were Expressionism, Dadaism, Fauvism, Symbolism, Constructivism, Cubism, Vorticism, the Bauhaus, Suprematism, German *Brücke* and De Stijl.





## One

### The European Crisis

The rise of Nazism and Fascism erupted in 1939 into what Thomas Mann called 'the war that was always inevitable, war in the fullest meaning of the word'.<sup>35</sup> The power-induced madness that Adolph Hitler waged over Europe for twelve years began officially in 1933 with the expulsion of Jews, major intellectuals, political undesirables and avant-garde artists from Germany, and later Austria and Poland, and rapidly intensified into a programme of terror and crimes of 'perverted brutality'.<sup>36</sup> The political and cultural events which took place under the German National Socialists irredeemably altered the face of humanity and scattered many 'dismissed savants' to countries around the globe, including Australia. This is a complex story which ought to be considered, for this was the setting in which many of the European protagonists who are studied in this thesis were born and lived the first quarter of their lives. They were given succour by the fervour of the Weimar period and the dramatic changes inherent in this regime. The seeds of progress in Europe, so often found within the German Jewish population, may have been brutally terminated by Hitler's terrorism, but it was the dispersal of those seeds which constituted an extraordinary intellectual and cultural diaspora.<sup>37</sup>

German philosophers and historians — particularly those of the latter part of the nineteenth century — in their epistemological questioning of individual and universal values, created the framework which historicised the 'Age of Revolution', an

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Mann, *This war*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1940, pp.14–15.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p.11

<sup>37</sup> Culture and economics were an intricate part of German Jewish life. W.E. Mosse suggests that 'the German-Jewish economic elite...possessed a distinctive cultural profile...[making] an important contribution to the development of German culture and institutions.' See W.E. Mosse *The German-Jewish economic elite, 1820–1935*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1989, pp.297–8.

age, according to Jacob Burckhardt, which saw 'that only through struggle, at all times and in all questions of world history, does mankind realise what it really wants and what it can achieve'.<sup>38</sup> Goethe wrote of the discord between civic control and individual freedom that 'Anyone who has lived through the revolution feels compelled towards history. He sees the past in the present'.<sup>39</sup> The philosophical pursuit of rationalism in understanding man's desire to correct the subversive, irrational elements of nature was nowhere more poignantly felt than in Germany between 1860 and 1940. Thomas Mann further defined the case for Germany's preponderance in the more profound areas of philosophical empiricism and cultural expressionism:

The German people are inclined to believe in this moral superiority of harsh and stark ideas... it is in consonance with their deeper tragedy of life, and the inevitability of evil in the world, which they love to set in sharp confrontation to the 'shallow' pragmatism of the West.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, the climate of crisis in Europe in the later nineteenth century not only provided the fertile ground on which ontological and empirical debates about reason ensued, but it set the *mise en scène* that would see the tables turned on rationalism. At the beginning of the twentieth century, those fundamental arguments of rationality versus sensation, structure versus vitality, were revised by the younger intellectuals and artists who adopted a more organic and spiritual approach to life. In the arts the notion of anarchy and irrational behaviour dominated the Dada and Surrealist movements, where psychoanalysis and the dream-world deliberately contradicted the conservative reactionaries. Theirs was a *zeitgeist* of a 'revolutionized modern life'.<sup>41</sup>

Europe's volatility and 'crisis of culture'<sup>42</sup> was as much an intellectual and spiritual crisis as an economic and militaristic one, where interests of the more powerful nations of Russia, Germany, France and England became increasingly

<sup>38</sup> Rolf Sältzer (ed.), *German essays on history*, The German Library: Volume 49, New York, Continuum, 1991, p.150.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p.xi

<sup>40</sup> Mann, *This war*, pp.33-4.

<sup>41</sup> Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of modern art*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968, pp.366-70.

<sup>42</sup> Fritz K. Ringer refers to a profound crisis of culture and learning especially within German academies. See *The decline of the German mandarins: the German academic community, 1890-1933*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1969, p.254.

dissonant.<sup>43</sup> Industrialisation had swelled the divisions between labour and wealth to unacceptable levels, and the proletariat rebelled. From the rule-bound societies of the nineteenth century, and the forces of capitalism, there emerged a bifurcation in the order of things, with a conservative philistine defence on one hand and on the other a radicalism and intellectual phenomenon that yielded the roots of twentieth century modernism.

By late 1918 Walter Gropius had written in response to the end of the First World War and the revolution of 1918–19 that, 'A world has come to an end. We must seek a radical solution to our problems.'<sup>44</sup> The Weimar Republic, a brief but spectacular period in Germany's political and cultural history, was a response to this crisis. Yet, it was during this period that politics, culture and intellectualism was at its most innovative and arguably revolutionary state. Between 1923 and 1933 an extraordinary proliferation of talented artists, groundbreaking scientific experimentation and intellectual and cultural revisionism compelled the avant-garde and the intelligentsia to shed the skin of traditional values and replace it with a new concept of the 'self as a construct', a poetic and spiritual 'balance between social adaptation and unconscious impulse'.<sup>45</sup> The dreams and imagination of young radicals produced brilliant avant-garde theatre, film, photography, literature, science, Bauhaus design, and a psychologically and an emotionally charged art, a high Expressionism. Their deconstruction of music, intellectual content and aesthetic form accentuated the widespread notion that humanity was 'at a turning point in history' and this 'threatened established views ... of society'.<sup>46</sup>

This dynamic cultural activity was not exclusive to Germany but shared by many European artists, musicians, philosophers, writers and scientists during the first decades of the twentieth century, and pushed the boundaries of artistic and intellectual

<sup>43</sup> George Steiner, *In Bluebeard's castle*, London, Faber, 1971, p.18.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Gay, *Weimar culture: the outsider as insider*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1968, p.9.

<sup>45</sup> Edward Timms, 'Peter Altenberg: authenticity or pose' in G.J. Carr and Eda Sagarra (eds), *Fin de siècle Vienna: proceedings of the Second Irish Symposium in Austrian Studies held at Trinity College, Dublin, 28 February–2 March 1985*, Dublin, Trinity College, 1985, p.126.

<sup>46</sup> Karl Jaspers, 'The meaning of history' in Sältzer (ed.), *German essays in history*, p.205; Peter Adam, *Art of the Third Reich*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1992, p.38.

activity into extreme conflict with the Old World militaristic traditionalists.<sup>47</sup> As the climate of revolt accelerated, *wissenschaft*, true knowledge, was passionately developed along Hegelian principles of the universal spirit, or revolutionary Marxism or excessive nationalism. Indeed, Edgar Wind's opinion that 'almost all the artistic triumphs of the last one hundred years were in the first instance triumphs of disruption' aptly defines Germany's case history of this period.<sup>48</sup> In Germany and Austria this manifested itself with *Kulturwissenschaft*, the science of culture, which was only intercepted by Hitler's fascist, racial and culturally determinist policies.

It is not necessary, however, to dwell on the idealism or the political manifestations of Weimar culture, but to narrow the lens and focus on the small and remarkable group of art historians and scholars within whose ambit Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp and, to a lesser degree, Joseph Burke circulated. To understand the impact that these young art historians had on the cultural and educational systems in which they eventually found themselves in Australia, it is important to consider the distinctive schools of aesthetic ideology which shaped their intellectual visions, and consider the events that discharged them from their homelands. (plate 1)

### **Ursula Hoff**

While there were many centres for avant-garde activity in early twentieth-century Germany, some of the more important strongholds were Berlin, Hamburg and Vienna. Berlin, the capital and the seat of power, was a 'wicked and wonderful metropolis', an openly decadent and dangerous city where the Dada leader Richard Huelsenbeck observed more than starvation, but a 'mounting, thundering hunger, where hidden rage

<sup>47</sup> The origin of this new modern movement can be traced back to the Enlightenment and, perhaps more concisely, to the period after the economic and political transformation of Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>48</sup> Edgar Wind, *Art and Anarchy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, London, Duckworth, 1985, p.18.

was transformed into a boundless money lust, and men's minds were concentrating more and more on questions of naked existence.'<sup>49</sup>

Hamburg at the turn of the century, however, was a city in stark contrast to Berlin. The Hanseatic port and free state was characterised by its industrial and merchant position, its solid, buoyant economy, its progressive educational and intellectual activity, and a distinctive humanism, unlike many other major cities in Germany. Its coastal location connected it to major international centres, particularly England, and provided the Hamburg people with easier access to other cultures. This in turn gave them a unique material and psychological position. Indeed, Hamburg has been described by historians as 'a special case in the history of Germany'<sup>50</sup> and it was seen as 'the most English city on the continent'.<sup>51</sup> Thomas Mann, who had lived only forty miles from Hamburg in Lübeck wrote about this northern Baltic environment as being 'within the frame of "old world" surroundings whose memories and monuments reach back into pre-schismatic times'.<sup>52</sup> It is in this particular location and psychological climate that Ursula Hoff grew up. As a citizen of Hamburg, her tastes and cosmopolitan attitude were determined as much by the city's demography as by her family's relationship with its culture. Hamburg's traditional German atmosphere and Gothic architecture produced a 'distinctly medieval air'<sup>53</sup> while its formal yet receptive educational environment and the small but proud art and music centres shaped Hoff's aesthetic and personal life.

Ursula Hoff's passage in life was marked by being both German and half Jewish. Born in London on 26 December 1909, she was the only child of Hans Leopold Hoff, a German-Jew, and Thusnelde Margarethe, née Bulcke, a German Lutheran.<sup>54</sup> Some months after her birth, the family returned to their home in the

<sup>49</sup> Chipp, *Theories of modern art*, p.380. Hoff's father forbade her as a young woman to visit Berlin, although when she was a child the Hoff family had briefly lived there. Hoff, interview 9 March 2000.

<sup>50</sup> Egon Larson, *Weimar eye witness*, London, Bachman and Turner, 1976, p.90.

<sup>51</sup> P.E. Schramm, 'Hamburg: Ein sonderfall in der geschichte Deutschlands', quoted in Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: society and politics in the cholera years, 1830-1910*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1987, p.2.

<sup>52</sup> Mann, *Doctor Faustus*, p.13.

<sup>53</sup> Hoff's memory of Hamburg corresponds to Thomas Mann's description of the town of Kaiserchern as described in his novel *Dr Faustus*, p.38.

<sup>54</sup> Hoff's father, Hans Leopold Hoff, came from a prominent Hamburg Jewish merchant family and her mother, Thusnelde Bulcke, was born in Danzig and came from an upper middle class professional family. As Nazi supporters, the Bulckes ostracised the Hoff's.

suburb of Hermsdorf, an outer suburb of Hamburg bordering on a forest.<sup>55</sup> The Hoff's had been successful merchants in Hamburg from around the middle of the nineteenth century, operating offices in London, St Petersburg, Berlin and Munich, from where they provided Europe and England, with possibly an American outlet, with pharmaceutical goods, apparatus and medicinal condiments and brews.<sup>56</sup> Such was the popularity of some merchandise produced by Ursula Hoff's grandfather and uncles that Fyodor Dostoyevsky refers to the Hoff's 'extract of malt' in his novel of 1880, *The Brothers Karamazov*.<sup>57</sup> As a young man in the late 1890s, Leopold Hoff had been sent to the London office where he became extremely conversant with the English language and enjoyed the British ethos and culture. He was interested in history and science, particularly Darwin's theory of evolution, a philosophy 'more [popular] in Germany than any other country, even England'.<sup>58</sup> These interests, in conjunction with the instability of Europe, was why he chose London for the birth of his child.

Considered wealthy by European standards, the Hoff's fortune had diminished by the first decades of the twentieth century, largely as a result of severe economic depressions, inflationary trends and the toll of the First World War. Apart from the horrors and hunger of that war, during which Ursula Hoff and her mother vacated their Hamburg home to live with her maternal *grossmutter* in the town of Bucholz, Hoff had a cultivated and privileged, but rather solitary childhood.<sup>59</sup> Her parents provided an intellectually and culturally stimulating environment, with outings to art museums and musical concerts. An emphasis on philosophy, poetry and novels, particularly those of Darwin, Dante, Rainer Maria Rilke, Emmanuel Kant, Johann Goethe, Walbert Stifter, Theodor Fontane, the novelist Jean Paul — considered by Panofsky 'Germany's

---

<sup>55</sup> Hoff, interview, 15 August 2001.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> See Fyodor Dostoyevsky *The brothers Karamazov*, trans. by David Magarshack, London, Penguin, 1970, ii, p.754, 'And just imagine, Hoff's malt extract cured me! I bought it by accident, drank a bottle and a half of it, and I was as fit as a fiddle — I could even dance if I wanted to'.

<sup>58</sup> Alfred Kelly, *The descent of Darwin: the popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860–1914*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1981, p.5.

<sup>59</sup> Hoff, interview, 15 August 2001. Leopold Hoff had been conscripted into the German Army. According to several sources, he was rescued from the Russian front through intervention from his wife's family and was relocated to France. Frau and Herr Hoff were very protective of their only child and maintained a neutral position in matters of religion.

greatest and least appreciated prose writer<sup>60</sup> — and the contemporaries Thomas Mann and Herman Hesse were favoured reading.<sup>61</sup> But her life was also disciplined and secular, and deliberately free from religious obligation.<sup>62</sup> Her parents' constant monitoring, even fanatic evaluation of the pulse and 'malady' of the world around them had been the primary reason in choosing London as the place of birth for their child. Children born of non-British parents within the British Empire had the opportunity to take up British citizenship in their twenty-first year.<sup>63</sup> This precaution, it was hoped, would ensure her safety in a world which was displaying what George Steiner calls the 'itch for chaos',<sup>64</sup> a turbulent, decadent hangover of Europe's *fin de siècle* and the residual agitation that preceded the racial and nationalist explosion of Hitler's Nazism.

Indeed, the German state of mind, including that of the mercantile German Jews, was a very cynical one long before 1933. Even though there 'was nothing more German than those Jewish business men, doctors, lawyers and scholars who volunteered for war service as a matter of course in 1914', as did Leopold Hoff, or those who between the wars eminently contributed to German culture, such as Freud, Marx, Einstein, Mahler and Schönberg, all had failed to reverse the antagonism towards Germany's Jews.<sup>65</sup>

In 1928, Ursula Hoff matriculated from the *Klosterschule* in Hamburg. Throughout her schooling she had displayed an intellectual vitality, but it was her critical eye and aptitude for drawing, combined with a profound interest in art that made her decide to work as an assistant in a local Hamburg artist's studio. This would account for much of Hoff's understanding of the role of the artist in society. Ursula

<sup>60</sup> William S. Heckscher, 'Erwin Panofsky: a curriculum vitae' in Irving Lavin (ed.), *Erwin Panofsky: Three essays on style*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1995. Hoff purchased several Jean Paul books in Hamburg in 1934–35, including *Das Heimliche* and *Vorschule der aesthetick*.

<sup>61</sup> These were some of the more prominent authors in Hoff's private library in 2003.

<sup>62</sup> Hoff recalls not having held or seen the bible until she went to school. Only then was she handed a small book about Jesus Christ. She recalls a certain amount of 'taunting' about her agnosticism from other children at school. Later she found the bible an indispensable resource: 'you cannot do art history without knowing the Bible. Rembrandt extensively makes reference to religious symbolism and works before the Renaissance were largely if not wholly based upon the bible. After the reformation, the schism, art began to use narrative and became more romantic, naturalism of detail.' Hoff, interview, 18 November 1999.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle*, p.18.

<sup>65</sup> Gordon A. Craig, *The Germans*, London, Penguin, 1982, p.141.



Hoff soon realized, however, 'that she was more interested in the history of painting than actual painting itself'<sup>66</sup> and in 1929 she embarked alone with Burckhardt's *Cicerone* and her 1929 Baedeker in hand on an extensive European tour.<sup>67</sup> (plate 2). While this journey was primarily to study the art and architecture of the main European museums and churches, particularly those in the great collections of the Louvre in Paris, and the princely and papal collections of Florence and Rome, the fact that she travelled on her own reveals a confidence and independence of spirit. This was characteristic of the social and sexual phenomenon of the new woman, a global cultural phenomenon that exemplified the spirit of the 1920s and 1930s. In Germany's first democracy — the Weimar Republic — a middle class young woman was susceptible to the freedom and expression of the times. The abolition of censorship and the liberation of the press, combined with an increase in photographic journalism, invited the general public to embrace ideas and opportunities once believed outside their grasp.<sup>68</sup> While Ursula Hoff was certainly not part of the avant-garde Weimar culture, her *wanderjahr* was reflective of a certain social and cultural elitism.

After touring through Italy and France, Ursula Hoff returned to Germany and settled at Frankfurt where a great aunt lived. It was there that she commenced her academic studies at the Frankfurt University. Further semesters followed at the Universities of Cologne and Munich.<sup>69</sup> Erwin Panofsky wrote of this 'movement' between universities as characteristic of German student life, 'enrolling at whatever university he pleases, spending one semester here and another there until he ... found a teacher under whose direction to prepare his doctoral thesis'.<sup>70</sup> Hoff was typical of this

<sup>66</sup> Age, 'Guardian of the prints', 27 September 1947.

<sup>67</sup> Burckhardt's *Cicerone* and *Die kulture der Renaissance in Italien* were purchased by Hoff in 1929 and the Baedeker, according to James Mollison, was a 1929 edition which Hoff still had when she accompanied Mollison on a tour of major Italian centres of art in 1975. James Mollison, interview, 9 September 1999.

<sup>68</sup> Hendrick Neubauer and Torsten Palmér (eds), *The Weimar Republic through the lens of the press*, Cologne, Köneman, 2000, pp.18–37.

<sup>69</sup> There are inconsistencies regarding Hoff's academic semesters, with Hoff recorded by some historians as studying in the universities mentioned, while in the *Australian dictionary of biography* she is listed as only taking semesters at Munich, Hamburg and London. In notes to the author, Hoff states that she actually went to Frankfurt and Cologne only to see their collections of early paintings and sculpture. Hoff remembers Cologne as having had the largest number of medieval cathedrals and she knew Munich quite well from her childhood, she 'knew what was going on in art'. Munich had been an important centre for the arts in the nineteenth century. Hoff, interview, 12 January 2001.

<sup>70</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts*, London, Penguin, p.382.

academic peripateticism. Just as she was preparing to continue on to Vienna, her father recalled her to Hamburg, terminating her independence and grand tour and altering her choice from the great University of Vienna to the newly established Hamburg University.<sup>71</sup> While this was disappointing for Hoff, it was a decision that would prove providential, certainly for her studies in art history. Even before deciding that she wanted to move to Vienna, an art historian at Cologne had advised her to return to Hamburg where it was considered that the best history of art was being taught.<sup>72</sup> In late 1930 she recommenced her studies at the University of Hamburg, taking archaeology, English literature, philosophy of aesthetics and art history.<sup>73</sup> The latter was a new discipline in itself, and one where iconography was being re-interpreted by Erwin Panofsky as the 'theory of image', a process of illuminating knowledge through the visual features of an object or picture, providing meaning within the broader complexities of time, place and tradition.<sup>74</sup>

### The Hamburger School

Germany had led the world from the 1820s in philosophic aesthetics, and by the early 1930s, the two exceptional German centres for art historical studies were the University of Hamburg and the older University of Vienna. Both were producing some of the most brilliant young art historians of the twentieth century.<sup>75</sup> Ulrike Wendland,

<sup>71</sup> Hoff, interview, 2001; Ulrike Wendland, 'Arkadien in Hamburg: studierende und lehrende am kunsthistorischen seminar der Hamburgischen Universität' in Bruno Reudenbach (ed.), *Erwin Panofsky: beiträge des symposiums, Hamburg 1992*, Berlin, p.17. I am grateful to Kate Hairsine for the translation of this text. Wendland mentions that art history students in particular 'chang[ed] locations four or five times'. Hoff's father was not only concerned at the increasing political instability, but was also feeling the collateral impact on his financial state from the decline of the German mark, which had been depreciating since the First World War. The 1929 great depression devastated the Hoff company and with Hitler's victory in 1933 the business was abandoned altogether.

<sup>72</sup> Hoff, interview, 5 June 1999.

<sup>73</sup> Hoff, curriculum vitae, UMA/HP, private correspondence, 1936-74.

<sup>74</sup> Hoff, interview, 2001. Panofsky's iconography became the new by-word in the art historical world.

<sup>75</sup> Ernst Gombrich, Otto Pächt, Ernst Kris, Otto Kurz, Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl were some of the more influential art historians.

in describing the characteristics of a number of German universities, writes of Hamburg that it 'was new and still being built, the professors young and not yet famous, attractive art collections or attractive buildings were absent', but that avant-garde students came there 'to become part of an intellectual community'.<sup>76</sup> One of the more extraordinary developments to take place in art historiography in the 1920s was the contiguity of Erwin Panofsky, Aby Warburg, Ernst Cassirer and Fritz Saxl in Hamburg. Between the end of the First World War and the end of the Weimar Republic in 1933, this conjunction of men, together with other significant intellectuals in Hamburg, created one of the most exciting and intellectually rich environments for learning seen in the past century. Moreover, this scholastic laboratory produced a critical vein of thought so needed for the emergence of modern intellectual progress, particularly in the area of art history.

The *Hamburger Kunstgeschichtliche Schule* (the School of Art History) was developed by Panofsky in 1921, and quickly gained a reputation for teaching a history of art 'governed by the iconographic method'.<sup>77</sup> As a consequence of under-funding, the University's art history department was housed in the *Hamburg Kunsthalle* (the museum or art gallery) and — despite the disadvantages of being some distance from the University — Panofsky believed that the inter-institutionalism with the *Kunsthalle* provided enormous benefits for the students of art history, particularly as they had 'continual contact with originals in the picture gallery, in the print room and in the drawing collection'.<sup>78</sup> (plate 3) Years later, Ursula Hoff provided seminars for her students of art history with original works of art in the Print Room of the National Gallery of Victoria, a reflection of her student training. Although the *Kunsthalle*'s collection was comprised of old master paintings of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Goya, Holbein, Jordaens, Salvatore Rosa, Rubens, Rembrandt, Ruisdael, Steen, Teniers, Tiepolo, Millet and Vermeer,<sup>79</sup> it had acquired some modern art, including Schmidt-Rottluff's *Harzlandschaft*, Pechstein's *Morgan*

<sup>76</sup> Ulrike Wendland, 'Arkadien in Hamburg: studierende und lehrende am kunsthistorischen seminar der Hamburgischen Universität' in Bruno Reudenbach (ed.), *Erwin Panofsky: beiträge des symposiums, Hamburg 1992*, Berlin, p.18. I am grateful to Kate Hairsine for the translation of this text.

<sup>77</sup> Wendland, p.18. Panofsky was given the Chair of Art History only in 1926.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p.16.

<sup>79</sup> See *Katalog der alten meister der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Vierte Auflage, 1956.

am Hoff, Kokoschka's *Die Windsbraut* and Franz Marc *Der Mandrill*.<sup>80</sup> Hoff was especially attracted to Kokoschka's painting and remembered Marc's 'Monkey'.<sup>81</sup> (plate 4)

The students of the Hamburg Art History Department also had access to the *Kunsthalle* library's collection of approximately 23,000 publications, as well as a substantial art reproduction, photographic and slide collection.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, a close reciprocal working relationship developed with the nearby Warburg cultural research library, known as the *Kulturhistorische Bibliothek Warburg*. Its association with the University offered students valuable teaching and guidance from Fritz Saxl, while Gertrude Bing and Aby Warburg (until his death in 1929) were regarded as professional advisers to those who wished to make use of the Warburg Institute's material.<sup>83</sup> The intellectual collaboration between these institutions was considered one of the main attractions to the student and scholar of art history.

The great contribution to the development of art historical research by Aby Warburg (1866–1929) lies in his congruent creation of a highly idiosyncratic iconography and his exceptional library. (plate 5) Warburg had obsessively amassed thousands of manuscripts, books and photographs, and through a creative and diverse process, his library linked sections 'on art with those on literature, religion and philosophy' and provided a unique psychological insight into the development of human culture.<sup>84</sup> For Warburg, this was 'an instrument of enlightenment, a weapon in the struggle against the powers of darkness which could so easily overwhelm the precarious achievement of rationality'.<sup>85</sup> Warburg's interest was in understanding the past together with a moral and humanitarian concern with discordant contemporary

<sup>80</sup> Kokoschka's *Windsbraut* (The Bride of the Wind), was acquired in 1924 for the Hamburg *Kunsthalle* for 13,500 RM. It was confiscated by the Nazis and exhibited in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, before being sold in Lucerne in 1939. It is in the *Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen*, Basle, Switzerland. See Stephanie Barron, *'Degenerate art': the fate of the avant-garde in Nazi Germany*, New York, Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1991, pp.42 and 58. Hoff used this image in her book *Arthur Boyd*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1986, plate 20.

<sup>81</sup> Hoff, interview with Haese.

<sup>82</sup> Wendland, p.16.

<sup>83</sup> Wendland, p.17. Hoff never studied under Aby Warburg as Jaynie Anderson suggests in her article 'In homage to Ursula Hoff, on her ninetieth birthday', *Art and Australia*, xxxviii (no.2, 2000), 252.

<sup>84</sup> Fritz Saxl, 'Ernst Cassirer' in Paul A. Schilpp (ed.), *The philosophy of Ernst Cassirer*, The Library of Living Philosophers, Vol. VI, Evanston, Ill., 1949. pp.47–8.

<sup>85</sup> E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: an intellectual biography*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1970, p.13.

issues. Recognising the collective value of the arts as 'an important strand in the memories of mankind',<sup>86</sup> he used the knowledge of the past, the philosophy of culture and the psychological systems which fed into it to transform himself into a 'guardian of memories'. Warburg believed he could illuminate 'the absolute spirit' by scrutinising the space between reflective thought and action — 'art oscillates between fusion and dissociation'.<sup>87</sup> This created 'activities of convergent significance'<sup>88</sup> which could reveal 'the influence of antiquity on modern European civilization in all its aspects — social, political, religious, scientific, philosophical, literary and artistic'.<sup>89</sup> It was through this Hegelian oriented philosophy, where 'magic and logic flower on one stem',<sup>90</sup> that Warburg, like Dilthey before him and Panofsky after him, felt he could 'resituate [an object] in the matrix... from which it arose'.<sup>91</sup> This was putting life into the past and the past into the present. Though Warburg's intellectual presence was recognised only by a select few at the time, it invigorated the scholarship of art history, and his methodology and position in art history is at present attracting renewed interest.<sup>92</sup>

Fritz Saxl's transformation of Warburg's 'private library of a lonely scholar into a public institution' created an accessible research amenity for specialist scholars, colleagues and students, including Ursula Hoff.<sup>93</sup> For those who wished to gain a greater understanding of the history of culture by working with Warburg's complex and extraordinary collection, the *Kulturhistorische Bibliothek Warburg* provided a rich

<sup>86</sup> Gombrich, *Meditations on a hobby horse*, p.108.

<sup>87</sup> Margaret Iversen, 'Aby Warburg and the new art history' in Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers and Charlotte Schoell-Glass (eds), *Aby Warburg: akten des internationalen Symposions, Hamburg 1990*, Hamburg, Universität Hamburg, 1991, p.286. See also E. H. Gombrich, 'The ambivalence of the classical tradition: the cultural psychology of Aby Warburg (1866–1929)' in idem, *Tributes: interpreters of our cultural tradition*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1984, p.120.

<sup>88</sup> Michael Ann Holly, *Past looking: historical imagination and the rhetoric of the image*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1996, p.xix.

<sup>89</sup> Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the foundations of art history*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1984, p.34.

<sup>90</sup> D.J. Gordon, (ed.), *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948: a volume of memorial essays from his friends in England*, London, Thomas Nelson, 1957, p.11.

<sup>91</sup> Holly, *Panofsky*, p.40.

<sup>92</sup> Margaret Iversen posits Warburg's profound and idiosyncratic philosophy of cultural aesthetics as appealing across time and its relevance to today's scholars can be understood through the Warburgian notion of 'the symbol as a condensation of diverse psychological and cultural tensions'. Iversen in 'Aby Warburg and the new art history' particularly expresses the current interest and application of Warburg's theories.

<sup>93</sup> Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, p.228.

and rare opportunity. The areas encompassed religion, from oriental and classical paganism to Christianity, magic, cosmology, astrology, languages, literature, the natural sciences, social and political history and the fine arts.<sup>94</sup> The arrangement of the books was not in academic categories, but 'under the headings of ideas' such as 'The Interrelation of Eastern and Western Thought', or 'The Migration of Religious Symbols', 'The Survival of Ancient Mythology', and 'Folk Medicine and Superstition'.<sup>95</sup> Under Fritz Saxl's directorship the Institute in Hamburg also implemented a lecture programme, the *Warburg Vortrage*, which further attracted an international audience to Hamburg; in London after 1933, Saxl was to re-activate many of these intellectual liaisons. Importantly, this remarkable intellectual repository directly influenced a small but extremely significant group of early twentieth century art historians and philosophers. (plate 6)

Erwin Panofsky had joined Fritz Saxl and Ernst Cassirer as a devoted follower of Warburg's intellectual material. For Warburg, Saxl and Panofsky, the concept of the 'idea' or the image surviving through time and retaining a profound relevance within history was of ultimate importance. Panofsky's iconographic and iconological method, his 'theory of the image', placed every work of art as an 'historically revealing intellectual document', enabling historians to penetrate beyond the object's formalistic value to discover the motives that compelled an artist and exposed the cultural psychology of a given time.<sup>96</sup> Through his work Panofsky became one of the most influential and important art historians of the twentieth century, reshaping the young discipline of art history into a form that encompassed ideas formulated by many of the great German philosophers and historians of the nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup> As a student of Panofsky, Saxl and, indirectly, Warburg, Ursula Hoff inherited their form of contextual historiography, believing 'that certain pictures from a particular time carry within them

<sup>94</sup> For a full account of this curriculum see Dr Gertrude Bing, *The Warburg Institute*, printed for private circulation 1935, p.5, copy held in the Warburg Institute Archives

<sup>95</sup> 'Notes of the Warburg Institute', author unknown, but possibly Fritz Saxl, TGA/KCP, MS 8812.1.1.14.

<sup>96</sup> Holly, *Panofsky*, p.68.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* pp.23-6.

whatever has been inherited from before and is in service to the present and the future.<sup>98</sup>

The intellectual programmes that were established between the *Hamburger Kunstgeschichtliche Schule* and the *Kulturhistorische Bibliothec Warburg* came to be known as the 'Hamburger School'.<sup>99</sup> Many students who had attended this inter-institutional assemblage recalled it as being an intellectual Arcadia, a repository for the intelligentsia. Its teaching staff included Erwin Panofsky, the first full-time art history professor; Karl von Tolnai, one of 'the foremost connoisseurs of Michelangelo';<sup>100</sup> the philosophers Ernst Cassirer and Edgar Wind, who escaped to London in 1933; the historians Richard Salomon and Hans Liebshutz; Eugen von Merklin, who taught classical archaeology; and Gustave Pauli, the director of the *Hamburg Kunsthalle*.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, as Ulrike Wendland explains, 'one of the most important aspects of both institutions was the tolerant spirit. Despite the increasing anti-Semitism of the university, the idea of race or religion was unimportant in both the school and the *Kulturhistorische Bibliothec Warburg*'. This is evident in what Panofsky wrote in 1932:

I am lecturing on French art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before about 120 people without having been attacked for treason against the country, and almost all the new students studying art history as a major area of study who have appeared after my return from New York, are runaways from Munich, the main stronghold of nationalism in art history.<sup>102</sup>

During Hoff's years at the Hamburg University, Panofsky's new system of 'iconology' and his 'principles of interpretation' were regarded as innovative, and while the teaching of art history was at times unstructured and heuristic, as William Heckscher recalled, 'all those guiding us, directly or indirectly, transmitted to us, whether intentionally or not the results of their own research'.<sup>103</sup> (plate 7) Panofsky's influence was considerable even in *absentia*, for by 1930 Panofsky was spending six

<sup>98</sup> Hoff, interview, 18 November 1999.

<sup>99</sup> Saxl referred to the 'reciprocal and complementary relationship' which gave art historical research a special character, which he called 'the Hamburger School', Wendland, p.21.

<sup>100</sup> William Heckscher, 'Ist das alles?', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, no.28 (1987), 9. Tolnai moved to Hamburg in 1929 but later escaped to London and joined the Warburg-Courtauld circle.

<sup>101</sup> Wendland, p.17.

<sup>102</sup> Panofsky to Margaret Barr, 7 May 1932, cited in Wendland, pp.25–6.

<sup>103</sup> Heckscher, 'Ist Das Alles?', p.10.

months of each year in America with his lecture series. His presence at the University therefore became less important than in the previous decade, but his brilliance, wit, ideas and methods remained defining factors in Hoff's scholarship and it can be argued that she became the seminal channel of his work in Australia. Robert Gaston, a student of Hoff's, wrote that it was 'through Dr. Hoff's unfolding of the visual mysteries of Flemish Renaissance works that some of us acquired a strong attachment to Panofsky's notion of disguised symbolism'.<sup>104</sup> Hoff placed works of art as crystallised historical documents, and applied a combined Saxl–Panofskian methodology of 'context, content and connectedness'<sup>105</sup> to illustrate the 'underlying attitudes of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion.'<sup>106</sup> Panofsky's influence can be found in Hoff's own words:

Every work of art belongs to its time and place, grows out of certain trends of style, conveys aesthetic convictions, may have biographical significance or connections with other cultural fields and stand in opposition to or affirmation of the political, religious and social scene of its day.<sup>107</sup>

Though Hoff was never a theorist like Panofsky, she emulated the Hamburger style of scholarship, particularly in her earlier publications, such as 'Meditations in Solitude', in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* in 1937. Later in her role as a curator, her scholarship relied more on contextuality than the finer iconological details and derivations of images. When she was teaching students of art history at the University of Melbourne (from 1948 until 1965, and again in 1973–4), Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology*, first published in 1939, and *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1955) were mandatory first-year textbooks for studying the art of the Renaissance. During the 1950s and 1960s her lectures gave a clear understanding of lineal development, formal structures of painting and the style of periods. They were didactically explicit with a clarity of expression, and her ability to historicise, contextualise and analyse the

<sup>104</sup> Hoff had first editions of Panofsky's *Melancholia*, and *Idea* (1924) in her personal library until 1975. I am grateful to Dr Robert Gaston for this information. See Robert Gaston 'Erwin Panofsky and the classical tradition', *International journal of the classical tradition*, iv (no. 4, Spring 1998), 613–23.

<sup>105</sup> Holly, *Panofsky*, p.42.

<sup>106</sup> Panofsky cited in *ibid*, p.34. This is evident in many of Hoff's seminar papers.

<sup>107</sup> Hoff, 'Elitism and the arts: how to widen the elite', *Art and Australia*, xv (no.1, 1977), 73.



iconography of a work of art, in conjunction with the use of extensive slides, was a classic example of how she herself was taught art history.<sup>108</sup>

In 1931–32, when Hoff began studying at the Hamburg University, Fritz Saxl, the Director of the Warburg Institute, became the *de facto* cornerstone of her education. In the last years of the ‘Hamburg arcadia’ it became well known that ‘the brood of iconographers attached to the Warburg Institute were Saxl’s children’.<sup>109</sup> Panofsky remained an important and celebrated figure for many students, including Hoff, but Saxl was the ‘high point’, the scholar to whom she attributes her ‘real’ intellectual development.<sup>110</sup> Classes were often held at Warburg’s house, 116 Heilwigstrasse, where Hoff regularly used the reading room, and Saxl guided her with consummate skill in the use of Warburg’s library.<sup>111</sup> (plate 8) Her interest in Dutch seventeenth-century art and the subject selected for her dissertation, *Rembrandt und England*, resulted from her association with Saxl, himself a Rembrandt expert, having taken his doctorate in 1912 at Vienna with a thesis titled ‘Rembrandt-Studien’.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, Saxl was interested in England’s ancient heritage and encouraged Hoff’s interest in this area.<sup>113</sup> Fritz Saxl found Ursula Hoff an intelligent and conscientious student, ‘Gifted for the theoretical as well as the practical aspect of art history ... a keen eye for the characteristics and the developments of style.’<sup>114</sup> He provided special study sessions for Ursula and another student, Hans Hoffman — a young art dealer in

<sup>108</sup> David Thomas was a student in the School of Art History, University of Melbourne, from 1959 to 1962 and attributes Hoff’s ‘clarity of thought, expression and scholarship’ as fundamental to his development as an art historian (David Thomas, telephone interview, 30 August 2004). Some of Hoff’s lectures included ‘Graphic Art of the School of Paris’ in 1957, ‘Carravaggio and the Carracis’ in 1958, ‘Music and Art’ lectures given in 1959 and 1960, ‘Flemish Primitives’ in 1962, while other lectures for 1956 included ‘Early Christian and Byzantine Art’, ‘Romaneque Art’, ‘The Heidelberg School’ and ‘Impressionism and Post Impressionism’. A lecture given to the National Gallery Society in 1956 was titled ‘The Rembrandt Legend’.

<sup>109</sup> Kirsten Lippincott, ‘Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl and the astrological ceiling of the Sala di Galatea’ in Bredekamp et al., *Aby Warburg*, p.231.

<sup>110</sup> Hoff, interview, 14 February 2001. Fritz Saxl had studied under Dvorak at the University of Vienna and under Wölfflin in Berlin.

<sup>111</sup> Hoff, interview, 28 November 2001.

<sup>112</sup> Gertrude Bing, ‘Fritz Saxl (1890–1948): a memoir’ in Gordon (ed.), *Saxl*, p.4.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17. It was well known that Saxl selected students to work on projects that he was interested in and Hoff was the perfect student to work on Rembrandt’s influence in England because of her birthright and her father’s keen interest in Darwin and England.

<sup>114</sup> Fritz Saxl, character reference for Ursula Hoff, 1 February 1936, WIA, General correspondence.

Hamburg<sup>115</sup> — instructing them in detailed research on sixteenth and seventeenth century masters. It was during this period that Hoff's interpretative ability and knowledge of 'disguised symbolism' of medieval and Renaissance prints was firmly established.<sup>116</sup>

Peter Gay has written that the Warburg style of 'scholarly imagination' counteracted 'the brutal anti-intellectualism and vulgar mysticism threatening to barbarise German culture in the 1920s'.<sup>117</sup> Together with the First World War, the 1918 revolution and the great depressions of 1922–3 and 1929–33, this barbarism reduced Germany's world and economic position to a level that all but 'destroyed the ties of German culture both to the usable past and to the congenial foreign environment'.<sup>118</sup> The vitality of avant-garde artists and intellectuals during the Weimar period was at one level an internal and elite revolutionary attempt to redeem and reactivate German culture internationally. Certainly, there was a brief reconciliation of Germany's position within the 'community of nations' in 1926, when Germany was accepted into the League of Nations.<sup>119</sup> Ursula Hoff and her parents were fully aware of the political tensions that were gaining ground in Germany and Austria, but she distanced herself from these realities through her art historical research, literature and music — cultural tools that she would carry into exile.

By January 1933 many German Jews saw that their 'entire, much praised technological progress, and civilisation generally, could be compared to an axe in the hand of a pathological criminal'.<sup>120</sup> As the events unfolded many of those outstanding students and teachers became part of an unprecedented intellectual and cultural diaspora. Hitler's National Socialist party released a new law, the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*, which made it possible to sack civil servants and which was aimed especially at 'non-Aryans' and the 'politically unstable'.

<sup>115</sup> Hoff, interview, 15 August 2001.

<sup>116</sup> Hoff, interview, 25 March 1999. Hoff recounted that Saxl would take her to the Hamburg Kunsthalle and show her how prints were catalogued and how to evaluate them in terms of technique, their milieu and how to recognise different states. Hoff, perhaps over modestly, attributes everything she learnt about prints to Saxl.

<sup>117</sup> Gay, *Weimar culture*, p.33.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p.133.

<sup>120</sup> Fritz Stern, *Einstein's German world*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999, p.3.

This perfidy forced the resignation of many art historians, and 'at least 270 art historians lost their jobs, or the possibility of working. Forty-two of these were university teachers, and four were professors. At least 233 emigrated, and at least eight were killed in concentration camps'.<sup>121</sup> The destruction of the Hamburg Art History Department and the ejection of Jewish students and teachers from Hamburg, Vienna and other German universities immediately weakened that country's cultural and educational system. William Heckscher recounted the sudden intellectual dismemberment of the Hamburg Art History Department: 'We were like orphans abandoned in the course of an unimaginable catastrophe which culminated in the abrupt departure of Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Edgar Wind, Richard Salomon, Charles de Tolnay, Hans Liebeschütz. What had come in their place was either pathetic or unspeakable.'<sup>122</sup> Their exile and relocation into foreign educational systems can only be described as pivotal in re-defining the intellectual and educational paradigms of their adoptive societies.

Panofsky's and Saxl's influence grew, but on alien shores. In America, where Panofsky settled at the prestigious Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton, he quickly consolidated his fame and favour with the American historians, who responded with zeal to his values of *humanitas*. It is important to recognise, as Michael Ann Holly suggests, that Panofsky's post-exile and late works such as *Studies in Iconology* (1939), *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (1951), *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953) and *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1955) are accumulative of his earlier writing that originated during the pre-Hitlerian 'golden period' in Hamburg. Moreover, Panofsky wrote in 1952 of how much he missed the 'reciprocal fertility' that had existed in the relationship between students and teachers in Hamburg.<sup>123</sup>

Fritz Saxl and the small core of the Warburg scholars and staff escaped with their library from Hamburg to London in December 1933 and became agents of intellectual change within England. Moreover, the Warburgian/Hamburg style of scholarship owed its reputation not to one scholar but to many. The study of

<sup>121</sup> Wendland, p.26.

<sup>122</sup> William S. Heckscher, 'Words in memory of H.W. Janson', *College Art Association of America newsletter supplement*, (1982), 2 [copy held in WIA].

<sup>123</sup> See Wendland, p.20.

Symbolism through the newly developed form of 'iconography' as expounded by the Hamburg circle of historians profoundly influenced modern art history. Its style of contextual historiography sought to 'free the study of art from simple connoisseurship and to legitimise the status of art history as a fully accepted branch of human learning'.<sup>124</sup> As a student during this remarkable period of intellectual activity, Ursula Hoff inherited a profound and unique form of scholarship, one which embraced Panofsky's cultural history, Saxl's critical rationalism and intellectual authority, as well as other intellectual influences associated with these distinctive academies.<sup>125</sup> With this intellectual legacy, Ursula Hoff, as one of the last amongst the group of university students to make maximum use of the 'Hamburg school' in the last year of its existence, had hoped to ride the crest of art historical research in Europe.<sup>126</sup>

The events leading up to January 1933 in Germany had alerted many German Jews to the inevitable climax of flight and exile from Nazism. Those financially able to escape did. Early in 1933, Fritz Saxl visited the Hoff's and advised them to leave Hamburg as soon as they could. Saxl further stressed that Leopold Hoff, as a Jew, should leave immediately, and that Ursula Hoff might not be able to get work in Germany if they left it too late.<sup>127</sup> Hoff's parents sensed the impending horror and wasted no time in preparing for exile. Leopold Hoff fled to England, with the family following later and settling at No. 5, 30 Brookland Rise, Hampstead.<sup>128</sup> In Hamburg, Thusnelde Hoff and her daughter packed their most precious belongings and had their luggage carried downstairs and loaded onto a waiting horse and dray. The early morning of the first day of July was damp and still as the two Hoff women vacated their home, and the sound of the horse and cart amplified their departure as they

<sup>124</sup> Lippincott, p.231.

<sup>125</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of art past and present* (1940), New York, Da Capo Press, 1973, pp.2-3. The original, classical meaning of 'Academy' was a type of intellectual gathering. Certainly Warburg's house-Institute resembled the type of private villas *Academiam* owned by the Quattrocento humanists such as Marsilio Ficino and Cicero, where 'a group of philosophers or a philosophical system' operated.

<sup>126</sup> Other students included William Heckscher, Lisa Lotte Möller and Helen Rosenau. Art history had been gaining in force and popularity throughout many western countries in the first decades of the twentieth century, illustrated by a flourish in art history periodicals and publications.

<sup>127</sup> I am grateful to Walter Struve for this information, which he acquired in conversation with Ursula Hoff. It also reveals Saxl's concern and affection for his student.

<sup>128</sup> Hampstead was one of the more popular suburbs for German refugees, but more so for the exiled 'intelligentsia'.

stealthily made their way to the port of Hamburg to board a small boat bound for England.<sup>129</sup>

### Franz Philipp and the Viennese School

The Viennese School of Art History, often referred to as the 'Vienna School', was 'distinguished from others by its stricter training in textual criticism and the auxiliary historical disciplines'.<sup>130</sup> Its access to some of the most valuable collections of prints and drawings in Europe also partly accounts for this. As Ursula Hoff explained 'the *raison d'être* of the famous art history school of Vienna was the presence of collections which exceed in quality the holdings of many of the other great European galleries'.<sup>131</sup> By the time that Franz Philipp was a student of art history at Vienna University, the Albertina, an institute founded in the eighteenth century by Albert, Duke of Saxe-Teschen, held a staggering 800,000 leaves of extraordinary quality and range.<sup>132</sup> As a student, Franz Philipp studied works from the Albertina and from the *Kunsthistorische Museum*, Vienna's National Gallery, its core collection dating from the Renaissance. It may be argued that his knowledge of iconographical and historical sources of art was based on rare, first-rate examples. Years later, as a lecturer in the School of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne, Philipp would refer to many of these works, striking his students with uncompromising standards and examples of artists' styles.<sup>133</sup> But the 'Vienna School' also owed its distinctive reputation to historians such as Franz Wickhoff, Max Dvorak (Fritz Saxl's teacher), Alois Reigl and Julius von Schlosser.

<sup>129</sup> Conversation with Ursula Hoff.

<sup>130</sup> Bing, 'Fritz Saxl', pp.2–3.

<sup>131</sup> Hoff, 'Tribute to Franz Philipp', unpublished manuscript for proposed Franz Philipp Festschrift, c. 1973, NGV/HP.

<sup>132</sup> Barbara Dossi, *Albertina: the history of the collection and its masterpieces*, Munich, Prestal, 1999, pp.11–42.

<sup>133</sup> This was evident from a number of interviews with former students and colleagues such as Margaret Plant, Bernice Murphy, June Stewart, Robert Gaston and Ursula Hoff.

Franz Adolph Philipp was born in Vienna on 29 March 1914. His father, Edmund Philipp, was a Jewish importer of cloth and a manufacturer of suits, and his business was located in the centre of Vienna. One of three sons, with an older sister, Franz Philipp's childhood was generally happy, and he attended the *Bundesgymnasium* at Doebbling.<sup>134</sup> Like many middle-class Viennese Philipp regularly visited exhibitions, the opera and musical concerts and the family enjoyed holidays in the surrounding mountains and lakes district, the Wienerwald.<sup>135</sup> His interest in Hölderlin and Rilke reflected the general cult-following of these poets by Germans and Austrians after the First World War.<sup>136</sup> Ursula Hoff applied to Franz Philipp the words of Stefan Zweig: 'one was not a real Viennese without this love for culture, without this sense, aesthetic and critical at once, of the holiest exuberance of life'.<sup>137</sup> Marian Pollack, who had married a Viennese Professor of Languages in 1926, wrote evocatively of Vienna in this period:

Historically, politically and socially, the Vienna of two decades between 1918 and 1938, between the dismemberment of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and the final collapse of the new Austrian Republic, was one of the most complex cities in Europe; and its affairs were in a continuous state of uneasy change right up to the annexation of Austria by the Nazis and the beginning of the war ... dreary in parts and so beautiful in others, dilapidated and poor as it still was after the First World War, but so courageously getting on its feet again ... Vienna was still a centre of music and scholarship, art and scientific thought. [Its] intellectual workers [were] highly trained, well informed, liberal minded with critical brains.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> June Philipp, interviews, 10 May 2001 and 10 September 2001; Jaynie Anderson, 'Franz Philipp' in *The Australian dictionary of biography*, pp.601–2.

<sup>135</sup> June Philipp, interviews, 10 May 2001 and 10 September 2001.

<sup>136</sup> Included amongst some of the books that Philipp managed to take with him to Dachau and thence on his journey of exile was a volume of Holderlin's complete works. Philipp also wrote poetry and as a destitute young refugee in London in 1939, he, his brother and cousin Dolph Platchet would sit in their 'seedy attic room' and 'tear one another's poetry apart'. See Ysenda Maxtone Graham, *The real Mrs Minerver*, London, John Murray, 2001, pp.117 and 121.

<sup>137</sup> Hoff, 'Tribute to Franz Philipp'; see Stefan Zweig, *The world of yesterday: an autobiography*, London, Cassell, 1944, pp.13–14.

<sup>138</sup> Marian Pollack née Weigall, was Daryl Lindsay's sister-in-law. Lindsay was the Director of the National Gallery of Victoria from 1941 to 1955. Pollack wrote a journal of her life from the year she married in 1926 until her and her husband's arrival in Melbourne in 1939. They escaped from Nazi controlled Vienna to Sweden, then to Denmark, before arriving in London where they arranged their emigration to Australia. The journal provides a vivid account of the escalating Nazi dominance of Austria from 1934 and their desperate flight to freedom.

By the time Philipp entered the University of Vienna in 1933 to study under the eminent Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938)<sup>139</sup> (plate 9), life for Jews in Vienna had begun to darken and Philipp was subjected to anti-Semitic discrimination from Austrian Nazi youth. In order to pass through the police barricades to get to the University, he carried a note from von Schlosser that read 'Please allow Herr Philipp to enter the University'.<sup>140</sup>

To earn some money for his research study in Italy after the death of his father in 1936,<sup>141</sup> Philipp was employed to catalogue a Jewish Viennese family's library.<sup>142</sup> This library, of considerable size and importance, was transferred after the *Anschluss* to Trieste for safety, but unfortunately, like so many valuable literary and cultural repositories in Europe, it was tragically lost through bombing.<sup>143</sup> The cataloguing experience considerably extended the young bibliophile's knowledge of literary sources and proved invaluable a decade later when Philipp assisted Joseph Burke in creating a new art library for the proposed art history courses at the University of Melbourne. Without Philipp's extensive knowledge of seminal European art reference books and other associated critical literature, especially for classical, medieval and modern European art history, Burke's task would have been infinitely more difficult.<sup>144</sup> The only other person capable of preparing a basic academic library of art historical material in Melbourne was Ursula Hoff, and she was occupied with a similar exercise at the National Gallery of Victoria.

Franz Philipp was attracted to the teaching and lectures of the elderly Hans Tietze and the younger Hans Sedlmayr, but his interest towards his old mentor, the humanist Julius von Schlosser, was renewed after Sedlmayr revealed his support for the

<sup>139</sup> Von Schlosser was 'a prolific and creative historian of medieval and postmedieval art', his *Die Kunstliteratur*, 1924 was considered a mandatory text for art scholars.

<sup>140</sup> Dr. June Philipp, interview, September 2001.

<sup>141</sup> In 1937 Philipp spent 'four months in northern Italy on a stipendiate from the Kunsthistorische Institute of Vienna', Jaynie Anderson 'Art history's history in Melbourne: Franz Philipp in correspondence with Arthur Boyd', *Australian and New Zealand journal of art*, i (no.2, 2000), 113.

<sup>142</sup> Dr June Philipp, interview, 10 September 2001. The library was owned by the De Heer family.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> According to June Stewart, who joined the staff of the Fine Arts Department in 1951 as Burke's secretary and the slide librarian, 'there was a separate room for art books in the old quadrangle library, adjacent to the law library — a Miss Macmillan looked after both (art and law books). The collection was incorporated into the main library before the move to the Baillieu in 1959'. June Stewart to the author, 8 July 2003.

Nazis.<sup>145</sup> Sedlmayr's anti-Semitism seriously impeded any Jewish student, and though Philipp considered him a clever and invigorating art historian, it was because of Sedlmayr's authority that Franz Philipp was expelled from the University. With the privilege of hindsight, von Schlosser's seminar group became an important part of Philipp's intellectual growth.<sup>146</sup> These seminars were usually conducted in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, where von Schlosser had previously been head of the department of sculpture and applied arts,<sup>147</sup> and in the refined atmosphere of the museum the small group of doctoral students studied and discussed selected objects.<sup>148</sup> As part of these seminars Philipp presented 'a museum talk' on a Gothic *Minnekastchen*, a small box in which one keeps the treasures of a loved one; another presentation was on a medieval figurine depicting a flautist. Other papers that Philipp gave were on Syrian churches of the fifth and sixth centuries, and another on the life of Poussin. One seminar presentation, on Michael Pachters's position within Tyrolean art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was in keeping with Philipp's interest in northern Italian art.<sup>149</sup> Poussin, however, remained an important subject for Franz Philipp, not only because this artist represented so fully the discovery and the revival of the ancient and the classical in art but also because Poussin offered scholars like Philipp the opportunity to flex their meticulous intellect around the literary and spiritual manifestations of the Baroque period.<sup>150</sup>

Mannerist art had been the popular and prevalent research topic at Vienna's School of Art History since at least Dvorak, Julius von Schlosser's predecessor. Ernst Gombrich had pursued Mannerist architectural style with his doctoral thesis.<sup>151</sup> Franz Philipp selected as the subject for his doctorate the study of sixteenth century Italian portraiture in the Mannerist period, or as Philipp wrote, 'a demonstration of the

<sup>145</sup> June Philipp, interview, 10 May 2001; Christopher S. Wood (ed.), *The Vienna school reader: politics and art historical method in the 1930s*, New York, Zone Books, 2000, p.13. Sedlmayr succeeded von Schlosser in 1936 in the chair of art history at Vienna's art historical institute.

<sup>146</sup> June Philipp, interview, May 2001.

<sup>147</sup> Gert Schiff (ed.), *German essays on art history*, New York, Continuum, 1988, p.liii.

<sup>148</sup> June Philipp, interview, September 2001.

<sup>149</sup> Philipp to Saxl, 7 July 1938, WIA, general correspondence. I am grateful to Kerstin Knight for this translation.

<sup>150</sup> See Philipp, 'Poussin's "Crossing of the Red Sea"' in Philipp and June Stewart (eds), *In honour of Daryl Lindsay*, Melbourne, OUP, 1964, 80-99.

<sup>151</sup> Obituary from the *Telegraph*, reproduced in another newspaper [probably the *Age*], 2001, p.8, photocopy of newscutting in possession of the author.



development of manieristic images in northern Italy'.<sup>152</sup> A decade later when Philipp became a lecturer in the School of Art History at the University of Melbourne, he utilised much of his doctoral material in his teaching, particularly in his courses on Renaissance Art and Mannerism. This legacy, he wrote, developed from his 'research interests initiated during a period of European training'.<sup>153</sup> Franz Philipp regularly paid homage to Julius von Schlosser, Alois Reigl and Max Dvorak,<sup>154</sup> at least in his writing and publications, and his inheritance from the Viennese School of Art History is as much the measure of these teachers as of the intellectual expectations of Viennese culture prior to the Nazi invasion. The intensity of observation and enquiry characteristic of von Schlosser's seminars is recorded by Christopher S. Wood:

Images and other artifacts seemed different from ordinary historical documents. They were material relics that promised unmediated sensory access to the minds and experiences of historical subjects. The historian who could grasp the principles of artistic figuration could circumvent the thickets of distant and alien symbolic systems and arrive at the foundations of culture.<sup>155</sup>

Julius von Schlosser believed that 'art transcended the material language of artifacts', and that art history should utilise the scientific approach and 'purge art historical discourse of belletristic nonsense and subjectivist preening'.<sup>156</sup> One of von Schlosser's last doctoral students, Ernst Gombrich, is a good example of his supervisor's austere rationalism. (plate 10) It is perhaps this structured and 'strictly rational and critical' approach in art historical methodology,<sup>157</sup> where all views are checked and each theory taken seriously, where all documents are matched against the object in question, which came to characterise Franz Philipp's own teaching methods. Ursula Hoff was to write of Philipp's methodology during the 1950s and 1960s as dependent upon textual references, 'Works of art were interpreted as mirrors of culture

<sup>152</sup> Philipp to Saxl, 7 July 1938.

<sup>153</sup> See Philipp, 'University research in the history of art' in A. Grenfell Price, *The humanities in Australia*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1959, p.163.

<sup>154</sup> Hoff, 'Tribute to Franz Philipp'.

<sup>155</sup> Wood (ed.), *Vienna school reader*, p.23.

<sup>156</sup> Wood (ed.), *Vienna school reader*, p.31.

<sup>157</sup> Ján Bakos, 'The Vienna School's hundred and sixty-eight graduate: The Vienna School's ideas revised by E. H. Gombrich' in Richard Woodfield (ed.), *Gombrich on art and psychology*, New York, Manchester University Press, 1996, p.236.

in which they were produced. Authors demonstrated parallels between artistic forms and the social, religious and philosophical ideas of a period'.<sup>158</sup>

In a review for *The Art Bulletin* in June 1936 Meyer Schapiro wrote of 'The New Viennese School', and the type of scholar and student who attended the Vienna University between the late 1920s and up to 1933, that

The strength of the group lies in their intensity and intelligence with which they examine formal arrangements and invent new terms for describing them. They draw on contemporary writings in philosophy and psychology and welcome suggestions from neighbouring fields in the effort to build up a "science of art".... The new Viennese school ... tends to explain art as an independent variable, the product of an active spirit, or a *Kunstwollen*.<sup>159</sup>

This intellectual tendency, Ernst Gombrich wrote, used 'Explanation, as opposed to chronology, [and] was an integral part of the grand tradition of the Vienna School of Art History'.<sup>160</sup> Von Schlosser stated that 'It is the tradition of our famous century old Viennese school to start from the critical study of local material and at the same time to use this as a basis for general aesthetical research and to develop new methodological principles.'<sup>161</sup>

This particular Viennese style of research investigated works of art, objects or symbols by analysing the material against the expressive will, but it also used the science of psychology as a tool of dissection. This promoted the object as an historical variable, not a constant *Kunstwollen*. The oscillation between the psychology of recognition and the artistic production, or the 'rationality of experiment and self criticism'<sup>162</sup> distinguished the Viennese School from that of the Warburgian/Hamburg style of inquiry. Warburg's vitalistic approach regarded art as a vehicle which could bridge the gap between abstract concept and real materiality, whereas von Schlosser differed in his belief 'that there was an unbridgeable gap' between the artist's creative

<sup>158</sup> Hoff, 'Tribute to Franz Philipp'.

<sup>159</sup> Meyer Schapiro, 'The new Viennese School', *The Art Bulletin*, xviii (no.2, 1936), 258 and 260.

Christopher S. Wood points out in *The Vienna school reader*, p.10 that this journal, *The Art Bulletin*, was an initiative of Hans Sedlmayr and Otto Pächt and aimed at the new 'rigorous' formal analysis and 'cultural-historical explanation' which in Wood's view made 'for some of the most ingenious and dramatic art historical writing of the century'.

<sup>160</sup> Woodfield (ed.), *Gombrich*, p.2.

<sup>161</sup> Julius von Schlosser, character reference for Otto Pächt, Bod/SPLC/190.

<sup>162</sup> Podro, *Critical historians of art*, p.215.

product which was *sui generis* and the historical hermeneutics surrounding it.<sup>163</sup> However, certain common features operated within both schools, linked largely by the Hegelian premise of universal spirit.

Michael Podro has emphasised that the independent nature of German critical cultural and art history of this period is distinguished as an intellectual force by its correlative 'criticism of literature'.<sup>164</sup> German art historical enquiry fundamentally linked form, content and symbol with extensive textual or literary investigation. This is apparent in some of Hoff's and Philipp's more critical literature, and reveals their respective art historical backgrounds as much as the catalytic influence each had on the other during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, German art historiography was indebted to the major philosophical writings on aesthetics by Kant, Hegel and other European scholars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>166</sup> Their treatises on aesthetics held reason as the predominating feature against which philosophical dissections of mind and matter raised the argument of intellectual freedom. By the 1920s, many of the modern German art historians, including those under whom Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp studied, had embraced within this intellectual climax, new empirical 'developments in philosophy... perceptual psychology and psycho-analysis' in this intellectual climax.<sup>167</sup>

The presupposition that there are detectable laws [which] underlie the historical development of art.... the concept of rise and fall, first put forward by Vasari in the 16th century, holds for Wincklemann, the older Goethe, Schlegel, Rumohr, Burckhardt and Wölfflin. Others adopted conceptions which [lent] heavily on the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: the idea of continuous, predetermined progress in art (Wickhoff, Reigl) or the assumption that there is a demonstrable interdependence, even a structural unity, linking the art of a given period to all its other manifestations in religion, philosophy, law, government etc. This was maintained by Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Wickhoff, Reigl, Dvorak, Warburg and Panofsky. Only

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, pp.xxi, and 212.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p.xxi.

<sup>165</sup> For the best examples of this see Hoff, 'The sources of "Hercules and Antaeus" by Rubens' in Philipp and Stewart (eds), *In honour of Daryl Lindsay*, 67-79 and Philipp, 'Poussin's "Crossing of the Red Sea"' in *ibid*, 80-99. These two articles extensively use correlative sources of literature.

<sup>166</sup> Such as Jacob Burckhardt, Wilhelm Dilthey, Johann Winkelmann, Heinrich Wölfflin.

<sup>167</sup> Podro, p.xxii.

a smaller group [which included] Schlosser emphasized instead the isolated achievement of autonomous genius.<sup>168</sup>

The 'Viennese School' was an important agent for the transmission of German art history throughout the Western world, and all the more so after 1936, when it began to disband under the pressure of the Nazis. By 1938 it had largely disintegrated. Amongst the notable scholars of art history who carried the inimitable brand of Viennese art scholarship out of central Europe and into the broader world were Franz Philipp, Ernst Gombrich, Otto Kurz, Otto Pächt, Ernst Kris, Fritz Saxl, Hans Tietze and Erika Conrat-Tietze.

Unlike Ursula Hoff's furtive escape to London, Franz Philipp was caught in the Nazi's anti-Semitic snare and arrested.<sup>169</sup> The *Anschluss* in March 1938 not only severed Philipp's connection with the university, but with Austria and Europe. His eventual escape from Austria, his journey across Europe to England, before being arrested again and interned, was deeply traumatic and, understandably, Philipp never felt triumphant after this experience.<sup>170</sup>

### **The Rescue of German Scholarship**

When Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany on 30 January 1933 the cultural and intellectual fabric of that country was reduced to a politicized cultural prison, the phrase 'When I hear the word 'culture' I reach for my gun' was appropriated from a pro Nazi play by several Gestapo generals.<sup>171</sup> The defeat of the Weimar regime was

<sup>168</sup> Schiff (ed.), *German essays*, pp.xi-xii.

<sup>169</sup> Barbara Falk's title to her novel *Caught in a Snare: Hitler's refugee academics 1933-1949*, Melbourne, History Department, University of Melbourne, 1998, deals with the same period, but located in Britain.

<sup>170</sup> June Philipp, interview, 10 May 2001. Frank Ritchie was a student in the School of Art History between 1948 and 1951 and felt that the trauma and persecution of Philipp's past had affected him. Also Bernard Smith (interview, 7 June 2001) and Professor Joe Trapp (interview, 15 May 2002) felt that Philipp was rather scarred.

<sup>171</sup> Roland N. Stromberg cites Goebbels as saying 'When I hear the word culture I reach for my gun'. See *European intellectual history since 1789*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, New Jersey, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,

applauded by the majority of Germans who had seen the modernist government as one which supported 'the mechanistic universalism' which had kept Germany 'weak, divided and at the mercy of the Great Powers'.<sup>172</sup> The expulsion from Germany of important cultural and scientific scholars not only rid that country of its progressive leadership, but effectively resulted in a blood letting of its intellectual integrity.<sup>173</sup>

Many Jewish scholars, scientists and artists found themselves in enforced exile, among them Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Bertolt Brecht, Alfred Döblin, Albert Einstein, Walter Benjamin, Sigmund Freud, and, though not Jewish, Wassily Kandinsky and the black-listed Thomas Mann.<sup>174</sup> Unable to return to their homes, many had their important work and personal belongings confiscated or burned. Some believed that this interruption to their lives and their careers was temporary, and even the philosopher Ernst Cassirer initially believed that 'this Hitler is an error of history; he does not belong in German history at all. And therefore he will perish.'<sup>175</sup> This attitude rapidly faded when terrorisation of the Jews escalated, and Nazi censorship and dehumanisation policies began to take place. The 'Burning of the Books' by the students of the University of Berlin on 10 May 1933, the Nuremburg Laws of 1935, and the occupation of Austria in 1938 were symptomatic of Hitler's rule of oppression. German nationalism and anti-intellectualism had increased during the fourteen years of the Weimar Republic, and German traditionalists and 'cultural pessimists' patriotically yearned for the old romantic, 'organic' ideology of the *Volk*, a concept of nationhood

---

1986, p.246. It was also attributed to Hermann Göring in the 1941 *Oxford Dictionary of quotations*, and Rudolf Hess was known to have used it. The correct translation and attribution is to Hans Johst's 1934 play *Schlageter*, 'Wenn ich culture höre...entsichereich meinen Browning' — 'I release the safety catch of my Browning', Act 1, Scene 1. See Roger Griffin, 'Fascism an anti-culture and unnatural pairings', in *Renaissance and Modern Studies* (vol. 42, Autumn 2001), pp. 95-115.

<sup>172</sup> Alan Beyerchen, 'Anti-intellectualism and the cultural decapitation of Germany under the Nazis' in Jarrel C. Jackman and Carla M. Borden (eds), *The muses flee Hitler: cultural transfer and adaption, 1930-1945*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983, p.32.

<sup>173</sup> For a probing and elucidating view of the reasons for the Nazis expulsion of the Wiemar and Jewish intellectuals, see *ibid*, pp.29-41.

<sup>174</sup> Thomas Mann's wife Katia was the daughter of Alfred Pringsheim, a wealthy professor of mathematics at the University of Munich. The Pringsheims were an eminent intellectual Jewish family, though Alfred had converted to Christianity. See Ronald Hayman, *Thomas Mann*, London, Bloomsbury, 1996, p.182.

<sup>175</sup> Henry Pachter, 'On being an exile', in Mark M. Anderson, *Hitler's exiles: stories of the flight from Nazi Germany to America*, New York, New Press, 1998, p.337.

that drew its strength from the blood and soil. It was this notion of collective peasant subservience within a nationalism 'in and for itself', which the Nazis appropriated.

Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp made their way to England at different times under very different circumstances. Each represented the archetypal, well educated and cultured European, characteristic of the *Mitteleuropean* scholars who migrated to receptive countries around the world. But this diaspora created problems for the exiles as well as for those nations which absorbed them. Most countries were economically lame from the great depression of 1929 and the arrival of refugees was considered burdensome. Restrictions were imposed upon the homeless European professionals, who, in their desperate attempts to enter the workplace, experienced ethnic exclusion that exacerbated the often inhuman conditions of exile.<sup>176</sup> The resistance of governments to the increasing inflow of German-Jewish refugees, resulted in the formation in each country of privately created humanitarian organisations. These agencies were formed by sympathetic intellectuals and prominent, influential Jews, Christians and other non-denominational groups who assisted as best they could with the relocation, housing and, where possible, employment of the displaced men and women.<sup>177</sup>

In England, where the high numbers of refugees presented overwhelming problems, the general attitude towards Germans and the Jews was one of fear, fear of aggravating the unemployment situation already at a critical level — 3,000,000 in England in 1933 — and fear of the festering anti-Semitism, which was then virulent all over Europe. England became 'a waiting room' for many émigré scholars and working class refugees to obtain new visas and find other destinations. The British and American governments only loosened their immigration restriction policy after the pogroms of 1938, when the Nazi terror created an unprecedented flood of European

<sup>176</sup> For accounts of the conditions experienced by German refugees and émigrés in America see Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The intellectual migration from Europe 1930-41*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1968; and Anderson, *Hitler's Exiles*, *ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation, Peggy Guggenheim, Gertrude Stein, Josiah Wedgwood, Lord Lee of Farnham, Samuel Courtauld were philanthropists who worked towards the rehabilitation of exiles and refugees.

refugees and the crisis of persecution could no longer be disregarded. This migration catastrophe demanded immediate government humanitarian involvement.<sup>178</sup>

The Society For the Protection of Learning and Science, formerly known as the Academic Assistance Council, had placed 'during the first three years of its existence ... fifty-seven refugee scholars in permanent posts and another 155 in temporary positions'.<sup>179</sup> In an early letter of appeal from the AAC in 1934, it implored academia within the Western world for help in addressing what become an urgent intellectual and humanitarian crisis:

Our colleagues are in distress, and a great university tradition is in danger.

The dismissal of over one thousand scientists and scholars from Germany on grounds of religion, political opinion or race has created a problem demanding the active assistance of all who believe in the importance of academic freedom and the security of learning.

Distinguished scholars, after years of loyal service in their universities, are now refugees faced with destitution through no fault of their own. Their contribution to the world's stock of knowledge will be lost unless they can be assisted to find more permanent positions in countries that will welcome their services...

The need is urgent... The task is not a purely charitable one. The Council ardently desires not only to assist our colleagues in their distress, but also to preserve the scholarship and learning which they possess, and to maintain an active support for the principle of academic freedom.<sup>180</sup>

Its American counterpart, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars,<sup>181</sup> hand picked and relocated many of Europe's most important artists, scientists and intellectuals to America. The absorption of these influential refugees into America's cultural and intellectual system enormously aided the development and

<sup>178</sup> The American ERC (Emergency Rescue Committee) headed by Varian Fry came into existence in 1940.

<sup>179</sup> Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed), *Exile in Great Britain: refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa, Berg, 1984, p.16. The AAC was formed in May 1933 and, apart from assisting scientists and scholars from Germany, also helped refugee academics from Russia, Portugal and other countries. See also F. Lafitte's *The internment of aliens*, London, Penguin, 1940. Lafitte's account is remarkable for its contemporary intensity in recording the whole spectacle, and he states that 'by April 1940, the Society had found posts for 380 refugee University teachers and research workers in Britain, and about 720 had been placed in other countries, 350 in the U.S.A ... The Society has organised lectures by distinguished scholars and provided research fellowships or grants for the refugees.', p.47.

<sup>180</sup> Academic Assistance Council, May 1934, UMA/UM 312 1934/1.

<sup>181</sup> Considerable work has been done on many of these remarkable people and organisations. See Jackman and Borden (eds), *The muses flee Hitler*; Anderson, *Hitler's exiles*; and Hirschfeld, *Exile in Great Britain*.

wealth of that country, particularly in the fields of science, physics, music, art, architecture, film and intellectual scholarship. In New York the New School for Social Research was established in 1918 by a group of 'dissident academics'. By 1933 it had become known as the 'University in Exile' and absorbed many exiled European scholars. It expressly sought a more critical intellectual and social scientific approach towards the 'reconstruction' of western society along more egalitarian and scientific lines'.<sup>182</sup> Together with the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, and the Institute of Social Research (which included refugee intellectuals such as Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer from the Frankfurt School) these and other universities attracted and gave refuge to some of the most important intellectuals of the early twentieth century.<sup>183</sup> The roll call of masters who settled in America, albeit in some cases for only a few years, is seen today as intoxicating: Walter Gropius, Moholy-Nagy, Mies van der Rohe, Josef Albers, Lionel Feininger, Bertolt Brecht, George Grosz, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Alfred Döblin, Max Ernst, Piet Mondrian, Salvadore Dali, Andre Masson, Yves Tanguy, Andre Breton, Erwin Panofsky, Walter Friedlander, Otto Benesch, Herbert Marcuse, Ernst Toller, Hannah Arendt, Albert Einstein, Igor Stravinsky, Arturo Toscanini, Arnold Schoenberg, Kurt Weill.<sup>184</sup>

Australia, on the other hand, was initially non-committal to the European exiles. The University of Melbourne, after hearing from the Academic Assistance Council, believed in 1934 that

in consideration of our distance from Europe and the heavy expenses incurred in coming to Australia, it would not be practicable for this University to entertain any of the displaced scholars for a year. No other means of giving assistance in this matter has presented itself to us.<sup>185</sup>

The AAC refused to accept this and wrote again stressing

by way of example that many other local and international communities eg. New Zealand have raised substantial funds and fellowships that have endowed

<sup>182</sup> Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott, *New School: a history of the New School for Social Research*, New York, Free Press, 1986, p.xii. See also Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in paradise: German refugee artists and intellectuals in America from the 1930s to the present*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983, pp.72-100.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, p.xiii, others notable refugees were Vladimir Nabokov, Levi Strauss and Max Wertheimer.

<sup>184</sup> Fermi, *Illustrious immigrants*, pp.235-52.

<sup>185</sup> The Registrar, University of Melbourne to the General Secretary of the Academic Assistance Council, 10 May 1934, UMA/UM 312, 1934/1.



a displaced scholar to work at a University for one, two or more years, without in any way prejudicing the interests of British university teachers or graduates.<sup>186</sup>

In a remarkable turn-around, by March 1935 the University of Melbourne appeared to have revised its humanitarian response to the European crisis, and Dr Nikolaus Pevsner was invited 'to take up a position ... financed by the Carnegie Corporation under their scheme of grants for two years to German scholars for whom prospects of absorption could be given by Universities of the British Empire'.<sup>187</sup> The invitation came from Professor Boyce Gibson of the Philosophy Department, but only after the University of Adelaide had been approached to secure Pevsner's services by the same scheme. As part of Pevsner's duties he would 'probably [have] to teach in the Philosophy Department [and] also give lectures in the Art Gallery'.<sup>188</sup> Indeed, Professor Gibson and Professor Douglas Copland had submitted a 'proposal to the university that Pevsner develop a course in Aesthetics for the Philosophy Department and that the Faculty of Commerce use his services to develop a study of Design in Industry'.<sup>189</sup> Pevsner was extremely keen to come, but at the eleventh hour he declined the invitation and remained in England where he had been offered an industrial research position at Birmingham.<sup>190</sup> It is tempting to consider what contributions Nikolaus Pevsner might have made towards research into Australian art and its vernacular

<sup>186</sup> Bod/SPLC/166.

<sup>187</sup> In March 1935, Dr F.P. Keppel, the President of the Carnegie Corporation and its Institute of International Education, discussed with the University of Melbourne the fellowship scheme. It seems that the problem had been the University's lack of money in considering humanitarian assistance. However, a number of academics who had been at Birmingham University such as Boyce Gibson, Keith Hancock and Douglas Copland were integral in pressing the Vice-Chancellor, Raymond Priestly, to move quickly and assist 'Dr Pevsner [who] is an outstanding authority on art and its history'. In October they had been granted a Carnegie Fellowship for Pevsner of \$US4800 for a two year appointment. George Tibbits, 'Nikolaus Pevsner and Melbourne: a 1930s resettlement scheme at the University of Melbourne for academics fleeing Nazi Germany', *The Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, xiii (November 1996), 500–508. Nikolaus Pevsner and his wife eventually visited Sydney and Melbourne in 1958.

<sup>188</sup> Walter Adams to Saxl, 2 April 1936, WIA, Academic Assistance Council. Adams was the General Secretary of the AAC and enquired of Professor Gibson whether they would accept another art historian. Adams also asked Saxl to suggest other names. In a letter to Adams from Gertrude Bing, 9 April 1936, the names of Helmuth Kuhn a philosopher and aesthetician; Dr Brendel, an archaeologist and art historian; Dr Weinberger; and Dr Wolfgang Stechow were put forward.

<sup>189</sup> Tibbits, 503.

<sup>190</sup> Walter Adams to Saxl, 2 April 1936, WIA. See Timothy Mowl, *Stylistic cold wars: Betjeman versus Pevsner*, London, John Murray, 2000. The results of Pevsner's research at Birmingham were published in *An Enquiry into industrial art in England*, Cambridge, CUP, 1937.

architecture; George Tibbits pondered whether Pevsner, if he had come, would have precipitated the idea of a Chair in Fine Arts and indeed been the contender for it.<sup>191</sup>

Australian lethargy towards the European crisis in terms of humanitarian assistance may have diminished, particularly after 1938, with several Melbourne institutions such as the Walter and Eliza Institute of Research into Pathology and Medicine and Nicholas Limited creating positions for refugee professionals,<sup>192</sup> but an event in 1934 reveals the level of discrimination towards foreigners and Jews. The famous 'atonal' composer Arnold Schönberg, who had been exiled from Germany, 'applied for the position of harmony and theory teacher at the New South Wales Conservatorium', but the basis of the director's rejection of this avant-garde composer is recorded as being that '[he was] Jewish [with] Modernist ideas and dangerous tendencies.'<sup>193</sup>

In England, however, a committee comprising members of the AAC and the University of London managed to relocate the Warburg Institute to London in December 1933.<sup>194</sup> The loss to Germany of one of its most unique and valuable cultural libraries was, needless to say, Britain's gain, bringing with it important German scholars who had inherited the innovative intellectual harvests of Europe's previous one hundred years. The Warburg Institute in London provided a centre where exiled German scholars sought intellectual refuge, help and friendship. At this critical intersection in history it also served as a location where many important scholars from diverse schools of European learning converged. The assembling in one place of so many major scholars of science, philosophy, history, art and psychology had enormous repercussions for the British scientific and cultural systems. This is one of the more critical examples of the rescue of knowledge and its guardian intellectuals from Nazism.

<sup>191</sup> Tibbits, 505.

<sup>192</sup> Bod/SPLC/200.

<sup>193</sup> Phillip Sametz, 'Vienna down under' in Shmith, Michael and David Colville (eds), *Musica Viva Australia: the first fifty years*, Pymble, NSW, Playbill Publication, 1996, p.10. Fritz Saxl suggested to Kenneth Clark in 1940 that the Ministry of Arts consider Adolf Loos and Arnold Schönberg as potential artists for some of their projects, TGA/KCP/8812.1.14.

<sup>194</sup> This committee consisted of Lord Lee of Fareham, Sir Robert Witt, Professor Gibson and Mr Adams of the AAC, Sir Edwin Deller, Professor W.G. Constable of the University of London, and Sir Samuel Courtauld and Benjamin Guinness through the Rockefeller Foundation.

As a participating observer, Ursula Hoff witnessed how influential the Warburg Institute was, and 'how it changed English philosophical ideas, [even] at a time when there was a great antagonism to things German.'<sup>195</sup> In the art world, scholars such as Ernst Gombrich,<sup>196</sup> Otto Kurz, Karl von Tolnay from the Viennese School<sup>197</sup> worked side by side with Fritz Saxl, Gertrude Bing and Edgar Wind from the Warburg Institute, while fellow Hamburgians Ernst Cassirer and Ursula Hoff were absorbed directly into important British institutions. Many lectured at the Courtauld Institute or at other British universities, and for those like Hoff and Wind, whose knowledge and command of the English language was good, opportunities arose to work within the British system. Ursula Hoff assisted Sir Karl Parker, the Keeper of the Department of Fine Art at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Campbell Dodgson from the British Museum, and Mr Byam Shaw and Dr Ludvig Burchard, both at the Courtauld Institute, with more specialised projects. This interaction of cultures, as Fritz Saxl wrote, 'coincided with the rising interest in British education in the study of the visual documents of the past.'<sup>198</sup> But just when England was on the verge of embracing a new cultural paradigm, the Second World War temporarily interrupted most cultural activity.

<sup>195</sup> Hoff, interview, 2.March 1999.

<sup>196</sup> Ernst Gombrich (1909–2001) had studied under von Schlosser and Tietze in Vienna. He spoke seven languages other than his native German. During the war he was engaged in the monitoring service of the BBC. According to the Warburg archivist, Dorothy McEwan, it was Gombrich who cabled Churchill with the news that Hitler was dead.

<sup>197</sup> Karl von Tolnay, a Hungarian born in 1899, had studied under Dvorak at the University of Vienna. Between 1930 and 1933 he had been a *privat dozent* in the Art History Department at Hamburg University, where he lectured on Dutch minor landscape masters of the seventeenth century, and was one of Hoff's teachers. Panofsky had written of Tolnay that he 'excels by a rare combination of constructive scientific imagination and thorough connoisseurship', Bod/SPLC.

<sup>198</sup> Fritz Saxl, 'The history of the Warburg Library' in Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, p.22.

## Two

### Transitions: London 1933–1945

It was a decade...of allies and alliances ... a decade in which people in the cultural field and intellectuals and students, [came] closer to the working class ... and to a degree shed their own specific, more jargonistic and conceptual way of talking. It was a decade in which Marxism made quite a large advance as an alternative to reformism, penetrating as a formative influence into every intellectual field.<sup>199</sup>

The climate of the 1930s in England was characterised by complex political tensions, an 'imperial-entrenched' capitalistic and nationalistic battle with democratic values<sup>200</sup> and not least, for its intellectual commitment to a cultural revolution; a revolution indebted to *Kultur* in its more radical European sense. It was also a period of 'between cultures', and one where Peter Gay refers to the German form of *Kultur* as something that had to be protected against 'the barbarous mass society of Russia, the effete decadence of France, the mechanical nightmare of the United States and the unheroic commercialism of England'.<sup>201</sup> T.S. Eliot evaluated culture as a social manifestation of the individual, the group or class, and was reflective of the greater domain of religion, politics, and education. In George Steiner's opinion, twentieth-century barbarism had forged a new form of culture. Gay and Steiner worked towards understanding this culture as a passionate or irrational response to a world that had become spiritually vacant and confused. Herbert Read on the other hand, defined

<sup>199</sup> James Klugmann, 'Crisis in the thirties: a view from the left' in Jon Clark, Margot Heinemann, David Margolies and Carole Snee (eds), *Culture and crisis in Britain in the 30s*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1979, p.35.

<sup>200</sup> David Blaazer, *The popular front and the progressive tradition*, Cambridge, CUP, 1992, pp.154–68.

<sup>201</sup> Peter Gay, *Weimar culture*, p.91.

culture as the struggle for liberation of the artist within a society where individualism was put at risk by 'mass standards'.<sup>202</sup>

This transitional cultural phase embraced socialist oriented ideals and sought liberalization within society, but it was also a period overshadowed by political struggles and contradictions, which pushed many towards a collective ideology. British Fabianism, largely a middle class phenomenon, had aspired to 'elitism in the arts even when it had moved towards ... the social aims of the Bolshevik leaders in the USSR'.<sup>203</sup> Thus the romance of communism and Marxism which had swept into England from Europe and Soviet Russia in the early 1930s caused many intellectuals like Arthur Koestler to believe that this new social phenomenon was a 'logical extension of the progressive humanistic trend.... a logical continuity between the modernism of Weimar and the new Soviet culture, which seemed destined to become its heir'.<sup>204</sup> What communism ideologically offered to the English was an egalitarian, utopian answer to elitist capitalism. Put another way, communism and socialism was regarded by many as a necessary tonic that would give a soul to economic man and hope to the natural man and rejuvenate an ailing British culture and society.<sup>205</sup>

Ian Buruma succinctly sums up part of this climate as 'the clash between nativism and internationalism ... between English conservatism and European radicalism, the trust in reason and the worship of tradition'.<sup>206</sup> As society's 'conscience, its critical faculty',<sup>207</sup> the radicals among Britain's young student movement readily stretched their arms towards Russia and shook the hands of fellow travelers and Bolsheviks, and the British Marxist intelligentsia, the poets and writers, sharpened their tone and wrote of their 'hatred of the status quo'.<sup>208</sup> Overall, a palpable tension existed between the younger generation and the entrenched conservative values

<sup>202</sup> See Herbert Read, *To hell with culture*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963; Steiner, *In Bluebeard's castle*; T.S.Eliot, *Notes towards the definition of Culture*, London, Faber, 1948; and Gay, *Weimar Culture*.

<sup>203</sup> Ian Britain, *Fabianism and culture: a study in British socialism and the arts, c.1884-1918*, Cambridge, CUP, 1982, p.223.

<sup>204</sup> Arthur Koestler, *Arrow in the blue*, London, Hutchinson. 1969, pp.333-4.

<sup>205</sup> John Maynard Keynes to Whaley, 11 November 1940, PRO/INF.1.871.

<sup>206</sup> Ian Buruma, *Voltaire's coconuts or anglomania in Europe*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1999, p.259.

<sup>207</sup> Edna Longley, *Louis MacNeice: a critical study*, London, Faber, 1988, p.39.

<sup>208</sup> Miranda Carter, *Anthony Blunt; his lives*, London, Macmillan, 2001, p.93.

of the British establishment. The expectation of another war created an urgency of values and hopes, values, as Cyril Connelly wrote, that 'made an intellectual appeal standing for love, liberty and social justice or for a new approach to life and art'.<sup>209</sup> This excitability promised a 'new world', but one that rapidly assumed a frightening and ominous mood.

Into Britain's radically changing state of politics and culture came the exiled European intellectuals and artists with their innovative culture, science, scholarship and art. Ideologically, it was a brilliant confluence that included British individuals such as Aldous Huxley, Stephen Spender, Christopher Isherwood, W. H. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis, George Orwell, T. S. Eliot, Edith Sitwell, Louis MacNeice and Noel Annan. The bohemian artists Julian Trevelyan, Roland Penrose, Edward Burra, the Bloomsbury group, Paul Nash, Graham Sutherland, Hugh Sykes Davies, Geoffrey Grigson, Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore and John Piper were considerably less radical than their continental émigré counterparts such as Kurt Schwitters, Naum Gabo or Oskar Kokoschka, but their creative optimism was unifying. The critics and intellectuals such as Herbert Read, John Betjeman, Myfawny Evans and Anthony Blunt had formidable rivals in Nikolaus Pevsner, Ernst Gombrich and Fritz Saxl, while entrepreneurs such as George Weidenfeld, Victor Gollanz,<sup>210</sup> Gustave Delbanco and Anton Zwemmer promoted European art and literature of the modern genre.<sup>211</sup>

Importantly, the decade of the thirties became not just in Britain, but in other countries that accepted European exiles, a period when the redistribution of culture and scholarship created new paradigms and altered the existing framework.<sup>212</sup> Among the exiled *Mitteleuropeans* who emigrated to Britain from 1933, there was a small but exceptionally well-educated, middle class contingent of men and women whose impact on their host society was intellectually and culturally specific. Even the British Government's interest in elite intellectual refugees was to

<sup>209</sup> Cyril Connelly, *The missing diplomats*, cited in *ibid*, p.355.

<sup>210</sup> Victor Gollanz founded The Left Book Club in 1936

<sup>211</sup> Other methods of intellectual dissemination were an expanded educational field, which included middle-class women, and a greater demand in literary translation and book publications.

<sup>212</sup> See Ambrose, *Hitler's loss*, p.12.

... try to secure for this country prominent Jews who were being expelled from Germany and who had achieved distinction whether in pure science, applied science, such as medicine or technical industry, music or art. This would not only obtain for this country the advantage of their knowledge and experience, but would also create a very favourable impression in the world, particularly if our hospitality were offered with some warmth.<sup>213</sup>

Though the Government's proposal may have been 'enlightened self-interest',<sup>214</sup> Tom Ambrose has suggested that while the English had traditionally been tolerant of political refugees, they had made it clear since the First World War, 'that they had little time for Germans — Christian or Jew' whether rich or not.<sup>215</sup> Their offer of protection for the exiles from European tyranny was therefore minimal, an act of compromise and simply a humanitarian gesture.

After Hitler's successful electoral campaign which handed him the Chancellorship in January 1933, entry into Great Britain — which continued to be defined by the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914 — stated that 'only those refugees with a work permit or possessing substantial financial resources could be admitted'.<sup>216</sup> Thus, only certain categories of people could apply for residency, creating a distinct continental economic and social hierarchy, one which was predisposed towards either elite intellectuals or businessmen. What was distinctive about the earliest waves of migration was the intellectual and cultural standards. In addition, the émigrés brought with them the most valuable and cherished of their art collections and libraries.

It is not difficult to imagine the hardships facing the exiles, even those with social or monetary status. Without their professions, homes or fortunes, and in most cases inhibited by a lack of fluency in the English language, their alienation was a visible tattoo, a poignant reminder of the cultural, economic and political despair that was sweeping across Europe and Britain. Generally, the German Jews maintained an introverted profile, and 'worked in slowly to the scene'. Annely Juda, a young, intelligent émigré who had arrived in England via Palestine in the mid 1930s said, 'London was the grey centre, you could disappear, [but] London was more *laissez-*

<sup>213</sup> Cited in Bernard Wasserman, 'Intellectual émigrés in Britain, 1933–1939' in Jackman and Borden, (eds), *The muses flee Hitler*, p.250.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Ambrose, *Hitler's loss*, p.31.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid, p.33.

*faire* and if you contributed something, then it was appreciated. There was room to carve out something for yourself'.<sup>217</sup> The English were also curious about these educated and cultured outsiders, and responded to them if they did not try too hard to emulate English ways.

The Hoffs were amongst those German Jews who migrated to England in 1933 and they were fortunate to have had both connections and some financial security, though it is not clear how solvent they were.<sup>218</sup> Ursula Hoff entered London on 1 July 1933, aged twenty-four. London was her birthplace, albeit by parental design, and she was able immediately to assume British citizenship. This gave her access to British cultural institutions and she experienced fewer restrictions than her German peers and colleagues encountered. Her relatively exclusive position of being German with British citizenship — unlike her parents — meant in theory that the authorities did not regard her as a refugee, although in reality she encountered conditions that re-enforced her position as an outsider.<sup>219</sup> Although English was one of the foreign languages she best knew — she was fluent in German, English, French, Italian and had 'an elementary knowledge of the Dutch language and could read Dutch literature with reasonable ease'<sup>220</sup> — her accent betrayed her nationality, and her fluency was impeded by the nervousness of an 'alien'.<sup>221</sup> Her father encouraged Hoff and her mother to attend the local cinema to listen to English spoken with action, a reasonably inexpensive lesson in English assimilation.<sup>222</sup> As a young man in the late 1890s, Herr Hoff had spent some

<sup>217</sup> Interview with Annely Judda, London, 20 May 2002. The Annely Judda Fine Art Gallery is situated in the heart of the London art precinct and has exhibited emerging and established European artists such as Antonio Tapies, Naum Gabo, Klaus Freideberger for almost forty years.

<sup>218</sup> As mentioned in chapter one, p.21, the Hoffs' wealth had dramatically declined, so much so that Hoff after her emigration to Australia in 1940 had to send money to her parents in London. Refugees entering Great Britain after 1933 had to have some basis of guarantee, and my assumption is that Robert Trevelyan operated in this capacity for the Hoffs.

<sup>219</sup> Elisabeth Trevelyan, known as Bessie, was Dutch and wrote and spoke German. In her diary entry for 3 January 1937, she refers to a person 'H' who is most probably Ursula Hoff; 'There is A discussing with the German who has lived outside Germany for some time and feels the Nazis as gangsters. A takes the just and generous side not to think of nations as unities...defending his generous position with acid short cutting sentences, somehow so bitter in tone that the vital somewhat careless illogical talk of his opponent H sounds almost warm hearted' The tone of this entry clearly positions 'H' as the outsider. See the Robert Trevelyan Papers in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

<sup>220</sup> Assistant Director, Courtauld Institute, reference for Ursula Hoff, 18 September 1937, CIA, Ursula Hoff File; Hoff to Wm J. Weedon, 26 April 1962, NGV/HP.

<sup>221</sup> Hoff, interview, 2 March 1999.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.



years in London at his company's office, and during this period he had learnt to speak excellent English, familiarise himself with London, and establish connections with the English people. This enormously assisted their relocation to England, making their transition less traumatic than for many other Germans at this time.

Shortly after their arrival, the Hoff's were befriended by Robert Trevelyan, his wife Elizabeth and their son Julian. It is possible that Robert Trevelyan, the son of George Otto Trevelyan,<sup>223</sup> may have acted as a guarantor for the Hoff's emigration to Great Britain. Trevelyan was a poet and friend of some of the most important intellectuals of the early twentieth century such as Bertrand Russell, Bernard Berenson, E. M. Forster, Lowes Dickinson, and Roger Fry and Leonard Woolf of the Bloomsbury group. (plate 11) He was a member of the elite 'Apostles Club' at Cambridge from 1893, and he translated classical literature and wrote poetry, some of which he published with the Omega Workshop. Leonard Woolf described him as

... untidy in appearance, his hair ruffled, his clothes unpressed, and his buttons undone. His mind was clearly untidy too. He never finished his sentences and though he wrote well in a clear script, he left his manuscripts full of alternative words. He was a real eccentric.<sup>224</sup>

Ursula Hoff spent considerable time with the Trevelyans at their country house 'The Shiffolds'. Their son Julian Trevelyan, the Surrealist artist, was the same age as Hoff and was married to Ursula (née Darwin) at the time of knowing Hoff. Through the Trevelyans, Hoff met other members of the British middle class, such as the elderly poet, art and literature critic and engraver Thomas Sturge Moore. She frequented music concerts and operas in London and may have come to know the English music historian Donald Tovey and the German exiled musicians Adolf and Fritz Busch and

<sup>223</sup> George Otto Trevelyan (1838–1928), politician and author, had three sons, George Philips Trevelyan, Robert Calverly Trevelyan and George Macauley Trevelyan, the last of these Professor of History at Cambridge.

<sup>224</sup> 'All the Queen's servants'. *Guardian*, 22 August 1978. Trevelyan developed an affectionate friendship with Hoff, giving her many books and sending her his publications after she had left England for Australia in October 1939. Many books were warmly inscribed 'with affectionate greetings from Bob Trevelyan' and began to arrive for her first Christmas in Australia. Some of these included an 1837 edition, five volume set of Jane Austen's novels and a newly published 1940 edition of *Roger Fry: a biography* by Virginia Woolf, which he sent for Christmas 1940. Successive privately printed booklets of his poetry titled 'From the Shiffolds' were sent to her at least up to 1948. *Guardian*, 22 August 1978. Hoff's family photograph album and the Robert Trevelyan papers in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, hold identical photographs of Hoff at the family country house, 'The Shiffolds', with Elisabeth Trevelyan, Julian Trevelyan and his first wife Ursula.

their families through the Trevelyan.<sup>225</sup> Hoff felt that the curiosity of the English towards the German intelligentsia and the art historians was based in part on their desire to understand better the intellectual and methodological processes of the continental mind towards art. There were many discussions about cultural matters and, as Sturge Moore wrote, 'I have had much pleasure and profit from meeting Miss Hoff in friendly discussion over works of art. Her knowledge is wide and exact and she is saved from pedantry by a sense of humour and an innate gentleness and persuasiveness of disposition'.<sup>226</sup>

The distinguished George Macauley Trevelyan complained of his nephew Julian Trevelyan when he abandoned his architecture course at Cambridge and went to Paris that 'he'll come across that dreadful man Picasso and that Matisse'.<sup>227</sup> Julian Trevelyan became one of Britain's few native surrealists to exhibit with his European counterparts in the watershed exhibition *The First International Surrealist Exhibition*, held in London in 1936. He became an active promoter and defender of non-representational art, and assisted Roland Penrose and Herbert Read in organising several other exciting exhibitions of the continental modernists.<sup>228</sup> It is most probable that he encouraged his friend Ursula Hoff to attend these exhibitions, where she encountered some of the most cutting edge activity of the Surrealists.<sup>229</sup> While Hoff was regarded then, as she was throughout her professional career, as being more of a traditionalist, someone who understood a figurative rather than abstract mode of art, she approached the latter with a willingness to understand.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Hoff, journal, 1939, HP/Private.

<sup>226</sup> Character reference from Thomas Sturge Moore (1870–1944), 5 February 1936, UMA/HP, Private Correspondence, 1936–74.

<sup>227</sup> 'All the Queen's servants', *Guardian*, 22 August 1978.

<sup>228</sup> See Robert Trevelyan, *Indigo days: the art and memoirs of Julian Trevelyan* (1957), Aldershot, Scolar, 1996 and Roland Penrose *Scrap book, 1900–1981*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1981.

<sup>229</sup> In Hoff's private library was a catalogue *Surrealist objects and poems*, an exhibition held at the London Gallery in 1937. Herbert Read was a participating artist and organizer of this exhibition. Julian Trevelyan and his wife Ursula Trevelyan, Roland Penrose, Edward Burra, Paul Nash and the Australian artist James Cant, whose 'object' was titled 'Caged Bunyip', were fellow exhibitors. Other major international artists included Salvador Dali, Man Ray, Marcel Duchamp, Rene Magritte, Hans Arp, Pablo Picasso, Dora Maar, Max Ernst, Joan Miro,

<sup>230</sup> This was characteristic of Hoff's approach to modern and abstract art later in the 1940s and 1950s in Melbourne. She also owned a number of abstract and modern works of art, including a Roger Kemp, a Bridgit Riley, which she affectionately referred to as 'colours by neighbourhood', a Colin McCahon and a Klaus Friedeberger.

This was the time of the Spanish Civil War, when young English artists and intellectuals became passionately infected by the notion of freedom, a freedom defined by the nemesis of Fascism and Nazism. Indeed, this period in London thrust Hoff into the heart of exiled and anarchic art and culture.<sup>231</sup> Her struggle was to balance the avant-garde with the traditional and classic, the German with the Anglocentric, and her life during this period assumed an almost schizoid propensity. The English may have courted European émigrés, but few were fully accepted into their culture and society. Even Anthony Blunt, who 'believed that England lagged behind the rest of Europe in both its receptiveness to modern trends and its treatment of art',<sup>232</sup> felt that these important European scholars would provide the 'intellectual spanner' that might enable British art historians to understand more fully the great art that was housed in their own collections.

### The Dismissed Savants<sup>233</sup>

The Courtauld Institute of Art was established in principle by 1930, with its doors opening in October 1932. It was the only British institution which offered qualifications in the history of art, a Diploma course, albeit a one year qualification, a two year Master of Arts as well as a Ph.D.<sup>234</sup> Its Director, W. G. Constable, who had helped relocate the Warburg Institute and its Library to London in December 1933,

<sup>231</sup> As the British came in contact with exiled European artists, poets, writers and philosophers an intellectual empathy enhanced the sense of liberty and death. In Europe, the revival of Rilke and Hölderlin seems to have given a 'professional respectability to the love affair with unreason and death' (see Gay, *Weimar culture*, p.62), while in England, the left-wing 'intelligentsia play[ed] at revolution' (Longley, *Louis MacNeice*, p.42). Suicide, which was a poeticized and heroicized form of death, particularly in Eastern Europe, was adopted by the English and engendered as a free man's final creation or escape from tyranny. This was one explanation for the romantic and political approach of the English intelligentsia towards the Spanish war.

<sup>232</sup> Carter, *Anthony Blunt*, p.90.

<sup>233</sup> The term 'dismissed savants' was used by Professor W. G. Constable in a letter to Edwin Deller, 15 March 1934, WIA, General Correspondence, 1934-36.

<sup>234</sup> The Courtauld Institute of Art's first director, W.G. Constable, had come from the National Gallery, London and held widely differing views about the structure and type of qualification that the dilettante connoisseur Sir Samuel Courtauld insisted that the institute offer.

was eager to lift the quality of British art scholarship from its dilettantism, and unhesitatingly made use of the 'refugee' art historians.<sup>235</sup> (plate 12) It is important to note the various implications of the term 'refugee' particularly in relation to the exiled intellectuals in England at this time. 'Refugee' according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is one who is driven from his or her home to seek refuge. There is consensus amongst some historians who claim that before war broke out, those able to escape as early as 1933 and up to 1938 were émigrés deemed by the National Socialists as politically, culturally, intellectually or racially undesirable. Whatever the term, exile, émigré, refugee or immigrant, all subordinated the individual to a reclassified social position, causing resentment, psychological and behavioral changes that were often misinterpreted.

Ursula Hoff is recorded as having applied for admission to the University of London on 4 October 1933 — around the same time that Joseph Burke began his Master of Arts at the University of London.<sup>236</sup> She is recorded as having worked as a library assistant between 1933 and 1937, during which time she assisted James Byam Shaw, who was attached to the Courtauld Institute in the years 1933 to 1934.<sup>237</sup> By July 1934, Hoff had returned to Hamburg to complete her doctoral thesis. This was necessary because doctorates in art history had only recently been introduced in Britain and differed in method to German academic qualifications. As Hoff said of the German system:

You either did a Ph.D or nothing. That is, you work for a while and do papers at seminars and work with particular groups of people on particular problems. You then embark on a thesis, nobody helps you with it, the way in which thesis get supervised at British universities... we were just on our own, launched at the deep end.<sup>238</sup>

<sup>235</sup> This definition regarding a refugee was brought to my attention by Dr Dorothea McEwan, the Warburg Institute's archivist.

<sup>236</sup> It is unlikely that Hoff and Burke ever met at this time, but after 1935 their paths would certainly have crossed the same cultural floors.

<sup>237</sup> CIA, Ursula Hoff File. James Byam Shaw (1903–1992) had worked independently in the Print Room of the British Museum and had studied prints and drawings at several major continental museums. After his brief attachment to the Courtauld Institute he joined the art dealer P & D Colnaghi & Co. Byam Shaw was 'one of England's most respected experts on Old Master drawings, particularly the eighteenth century Venetian school.' See *The dictionary of art*, edited by Jane Turner, New York, Macmillan, 1996, p.560.

<sup>238</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Amy McGrath, 9 July 1981, NLA, Oral History Collection.

Besides, Hoff needed further research material in Germany and believed that she was immune from any racial persecution because of her passport and her official attachment to the Courtauld Institute. But even at this early stage of Hitler's regime, when safety of the British in Germany seemed assured, she nevertheless encountered 'difficult rules, invented lately' which delayed her progress and completion of her dissertation.<sup>239</sup> Her student colleague and very close friend William Heckscher, who was still at the University of Hamburg in 1934-5, wrote of the years after 1933 as 'the time a newly appointed professor began his introductory lecture by clicking his heels and offering the German salute while shouting Heil Hitler!'<sup>240</sup> Such were the pressures, that Hoff was advised to remain close to the university at all times and may have regretted returning to Germany.<sup>241</sup> Fanatical Nazi censorship confiscated most internal and external communication, particularly that written on non-German paper,<sup>242</sup> and Hoff was faced with the dreadful reality of the suppression of her intellectual and physical freedom. She wrote prudently to Professor Constable that 'everything is somewhat out of order now' and she was unable to obtain important material from Lübeck, which she needed to substantiate her argument, and which would, she believed, have considerably strengthened her thesis.<sup>243</sup> This censorship forced her to extend her time in Hamburg, causing a shortage of money, but the situation improved 'through the very kind help of some friends' who put her in contact with a student assistance council. The 'Emma Budge Stiftung' gave her 'the means to live ... as well as the examination fees',<sup>244</sup> but it was some ten months later that Hoff completed her oral examinations and submitted her dissertation. She was awarded her *Doktorwurde der philosophischen* from the University of Hamburg in 1935. Her thesis, titled *Rembrandt und England*, investigated the influence of Rembrandt in the English eighteenth-century, primarily through the appointment of the German artist Godfrey

<sup>239</sup> Hoff to W. G. Constable, 10 July 1934, CIA/Ursula Hoff File.

<sup>240</sup> Heckscher, 'Words in memory of H.W. Janson', 2-3.

<sup>241</sup> Hoff to Constable, 10 July 1934.

<sup>242</sup> Fritz Saxl to Constable, 23 March 1934, WIA/General Correspondence, 1934-6. In this letter Saxl explained that Erich Warburg had 'insisted that we should never send our English letter-paper to Germany', and while this was specifically in reference to accessing the Warburg German funds, the wider implication was to the Nazi's programme of censorship and infiltration of private correspondence as a means for apprehending political and racial undesirables.

<sup>243</sup> Hoff to Constable, 10 July 1934. Lübeck was only forty miles north-east of Hamburg.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

Kneller, to the court of William III. It was, according to one reviewer, 'an exhaustive and highly interesting attempt to discover how far the cult of Rembrandt in England in the eighteenth century was foreshadowed in the seventeenth'.<sup>245</sup>

Hoff returned to London in July 1935 with her doctorate and was reinstated at the Courtauld Institute. While there she completed the bibliography of the first two volumes of the *Corpus of English Mediaeval Painting*, written by Professor W. G. Constable and Professor E. W. Tristram.<sup>246</sup> With W.G. Constable's support and no doubt at Fritz Saxl's suggestion, Ursula was offered a job of assisting Karl Parker to catalogue the Henry Oppenheimer collection of old master drawings. Apart from having the appropriate qualifications for the assessment of rare and important old master works on paper, Hoff also encountered with this job 'a good deal of secretarial work ... cataloguing the collection and dealing with the delivery of it, and possibly showing it to prospective buyers, experts, etc'.<sup>247</sup> All of this put her in contact with the commercial side of the fine arts in London and opened up the world of auction houses and dealers, something she had hitherto not encountered. (plates 13 & 14)

Ursula Hoff's meeting with Karl Parker, the Keeper and later the Director of the Department of Fine Art at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, was particularly auspicious, and he became very important in her acculturation within the British art and institutional world. The degree of empathy that existed between the two and similarities in their personalities and respective backgrounds gave them common ground. Parker, like Hoff, was born in London but finished his education on the continent. After leaving France he began his tertiary studies at the University of

<sup>245</sup> Hoff's thesis was reviewed by Elizabeth Senior for the *Burlington Magazine*, lxi (no. CD-CDV, July-December 1936), p.291. Sir Godfrey Kneller, who had been born in Lübeck, was believed to be the agent for transmission of Rembrandt's style in England when he was appointed principal painter to the court of William III in the seventeenth century. Hence Hoff's quest for material on Kneller in Lübeck when she returned to Hamburg to complete her dissertation. Hoff appears to have encountered further difficulties in applying for her return passage from Hamburg to England, evidence that Hitler's rules were tightening. Her passport reveals four attempts to obtain a visa, succeeding on the fifth attempt, but then she found that the cost of the tourist visa increased three times within a fortnight and she finally embarked on 9 July 1935 for England.

<sup>246</sup> Hoff is listed in the Courtauld Institute of Art Archives as having worked as a library assistant between 1933 and 1937.

<sup>247</sup> Letter to W.G. Constable from the trustees of the will of the late Henry Oppenheimer, 17 March 1936, CIA. Jaynie Anderson placed Hoff as assisting Parker in 1933, Anderson, 'In homage to Ursula Hoff', p.252. However, this was impossible, as correspondence confirms that this took place after Hoff's return from Hamburg in 1935 and between when the auction took place in July 1936.

Freiburg and at Zurich University where he took a doctorate in Philology. His interest in art drew him towards the Basle Print Room and he later published articles on drawings from the early German School. Campbell Dodgson, then Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, invited him to work in his department, and Parker shortly afterwards became his Assistant Keeper, being further guided by A.M. Hind and A.E. Popham.<sup>248</sup> Hoff, like Parker, was more of a traditional scholar and not a theorist. Her art historical training from the Hamburg University and the Warburg Institute brought a critical insight to the cataloguing of the Oppenheimer collection, a collection consisting of several hundred 'marvellous Leonardo, Raphael, Tiepolo and Rembrandt drawings. It stopped short of the modern period'.<sup>249</sup> As has been said of Parker, that his 'sense of quality was unerring', is also true of Hoff, an invaluable qualification for the museum man or woman;<sup>250</sup> eventually Hoff followed Parker in the dual position of working in an art museum while maintaining a programme of scholarship. Both were 'witty and elegant' and were regarded as handsome though bearing 'a trace of melancholy'.<sup>251</sup> Given Parker's understanding of German art and life, and conscious of the fact that Ursula had distanced herself from her German nationality, he would have been sympathetically predisposed towards her position.<sup>252</sup> Upon completion of the research and cataloguing of the Oppenheimer collection, it was sent to auction in July 1936.<sup>253</sup> Hoff's personal interest in it not only helped her to establish connections with people in the British art market, but, importantly, she heard for the first time of the 'Felton Bequest' and quickly realised that a particular buyer often seen at these art auctions represented what must have been a significant Australian collection.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>248</sup> *Dictionary of art*, xxiv, p.183.

<sup>249</sup> Hoff, interviewed by James Mellon, 26 January 1989, SLV, Oral History Archive. By the modern period, Hoff means Impressionism. Oppenheimer's collection of Master drawings showed 'the growth of art in Europe from the Renaissance to the present day', but the catalogue shows that the latest works were by Ingres and Goya. See the catalogue of The Henry Oppenheimer Collection: Drawings by Old Masters, NGV/Shaw Research Library.

<sup>250</sup> Calmann memoir, 1976 Ash/HCM.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid; Profile of Sir Karl Parker, *Apollo*, lxxvi (no.8, October 1962) and Calmann memoirs, p.18. This description of Parker could be applied to Hoff's physical and psychological disposition at this time.

<sup>252</sup> Hoff, interview, 15 August 2001.

<sup>253</sup> This auction took place at Christie, Manson and Woods premises at 8 King Street, St. James Square in London.

<sup>254</sup> Hoff, interview, 29 February 1999. The buyer was Randall Davies.

Ursula Hoff maintained a connection with the Warburg Institute, particularly between 1935 and 1937, when Fritz Saxl helped her to obtain research and cataloguing work, specifically the Oppenheimer collection of Old Master Drawings. She also contributed an article about 'the history of the ideal of the *Vita solitaria*', titled 'Meditation in Solitude' to the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* in 1936.<sup>255</sup> Apart from the difficulties of establishing itself as a research centre, the Warburg Institute in its early years in London was encumbered by a deluge of *heimatlos*. With 'harrowing letters' and appeals from 'Jewish and non-Jewish scholars, socialists, Catholics, speaking of loss of employment, poverty, illness, loss of family',<sup>256</sup> Gertrude Bing, Fritz Saxl's indispensable assistant, became a linchpin for the survival of many important exiles.<sup>257</sup> Through careful skills of assertion, the Warburg scholars 'were called upon to give their opinion on matters German and that by doing so they discharged their duties in a non-partisan way.'<sup>258</sup> What is of interest is how Fritz Saxl's authority determined the type of exiled scholar that the Warburg Institute endorsed, and this selective process affected the nature and substance of the impact of continental scholarship upon the British intellectual field. Saxl's dislike of the German philosopher Theodor W. Adorno, and therefore by association and implication his friend, Walter Benjamin, proved fateful for their exilic trajectory. Saxl's rejection of them may have altered their location of exile, with Adorno changing course for America, while Benjamin wandered between France and Spain before committing suicide in 1940. In a reply to a letter from W. G. Constable who had been asked to offer Adorno some lecturing, Saxl replied,

As far as Weisengrund-Adorno is concerned, I have made some enquiries about him and must say that we none of us like him very much. He is very intelligent man and certainly has a wide knowledge of facts, but I do not think that one can expect great new results from this kind of intelligence. This is my

<sup>255</sup> This was the first issue of the journal in England, which had previously existed in Hamburg as *Die vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg*.

<sup>256</sup> Dorothea McEwan, 'The tale of one institute and two cities: the Warburg Institute' in Ian Wallace (ed.) *German-speaking Exiles in Great Britain*, The Yearbook of the Research for German and Austrian Exile Studies, i (1999), pp.33-5.

<sup>257</sup> Obituary of Professor Gertrude Bing, *The Times*, 6 July 1964.

<sup>258</sup> McEwan, 'The tale of one Institute and two cities', p.33. The British were keen to understand and know more about Germany, its culture, scholarship, history both past and modern.



personal impression and also what I have heard from people more competent than myself to judge in the matter.<sup>259</sup>

Ursula Hoff's gradual distancing from the German Jewish scholars at the Warburg and her attraction towards British institutions and people was considered pragmatic, particularly in terms of employment opportunities. It is reasonable to suggest that Saxl may have felt that Hoff had secure enough opportunities elsewhere not to have enlisted her more frequently at the Warburg Institute, but in reality Hoff was disadvantaged by both her academic inexperience and her gender.<sup>260</sup>

While the Warburg Institute had no institutional status in Britain, it was unofficially associated with the University of London and rapidly established an indispensable intellectual arrangement with the Courtauld Institute. Its position up until 1937 was tenuous in terms of long-term ownership and secure location, and it was not until 1944 that it became officially incorporated into the University of London.<sup>261</sup> One of the deciding factors that led to this status, according to Ernst Gombrich, was that:

A comparison ... had been made by way of spot checks between the Institute's library and that of the British Museum. It showed that some thirty percent of the titles of books and periodicals brought over from Hamburg were not to be found in that great treasure house of books.<sup>262</sup>

The role of the Warburg Institute became increasingly important for the new Courtauld Institute which was charting a course into more serious art historical scholarship.

By 1934–5 the Warburg's library was being attended by 2700 readers and had acquired a small but serious group of scholars who became important for its survival. These scholars became 'collaborators in our research.... [and]... Upon them depends the future development of the Institute'.<sup>263</sup> But the English also quickly capitalised on Europe's 'dismissed savants' and this is shown in the list of lectures given at the Courtauld Institute of Art after 1933. Frederick Antal gave lectures consecutively from

<sup>259</sup> Saxl to Constable, 27 June 1934, WIA/Constable Correspondence.

<sup>260</sup> Hoff had no lecturing experience and had only begun to publish articles.

<sup>261</sup> Fritz Saxl's and Edgar Wind's salaries were partly paid for by the University of London, but more importantly the Warburg Institute was on loan to the University initially for a three year period. The Senate of the University of London again accepted to provide accommodation for the Warburg Institute for a further seven years from 1937, and then in June 1939 Erich Warburg offered the Institute as a gift to the University of London, conditional that the University 'maintain it in the same form as hitherto'. See TGA/KCP/MS.8812.1.14.

<sup>262</sup> Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, p.338.

<sup>263</sup> Warburg Institute, Annual Report, 1934–5, WIA.

1933 to 1942; Walter Friedlander from 1933 to 1935; Albert Gleizes in 1933 and 1934; Nikolaus Pevsner from 1933 to 1936 and again 1939 to 1950; Charles de Tolnay lectured in 1935 and 1936; and Fritz Saxl, Ernst Gombrich, Ernst Kris, Otto Pächt, Rudi Wittkower and Edgar Wind were other leading scholars listed as lecturers. Such was the flowering of interest in the European scholars that Erwin Panofsky, who in 1933–4 was being courted by the Americans, struggled emotionally as to where he should settle. While America offered security in the form of a well paid academic position at Princeton University, a house and free tertiary education for his sons, his frustration and guilt at accepting their offer is evident in letters that he sent to Saxl in February and March 1934:

But if the choice were only between London, New York, I should surely go to London in spite of the comparatively small salary, because London would mean so much more for me than you seemed to assume... I know very well what I owe you and the Warburg Institute and for quite egotistical reasons, simply because I believe that with you I should work a thousand times better and more useful than without you.<sup>264</sup>

And later in March Panofsky wrote again,

But finally I belong to Europe and to you, a forty two year lifetime and a friendship and collaboration of now thirteen years standing are not to be substituted by the intercourse with kind and ... partially very intelligent but on the whole essentially foreign people.<sup>265</sup>

America did succeed in luring Panofsky, and there he joined the pantheon of exiled European émigrés, though he was not, he stressed, a refugee, having been invited as a guest.<sup>266</sup> Panofsky's international ascendancy really began with his eviction from Germany and his emigration to the USA, but the 'American Panofsky', as David Summers has suggested, 'adjusted his presentation of ideas to new circumstances',<sup>267</sup> and Panofsky himself admitted that 'his transformation towards economy of thought and expression' was a result of adjusting to the English language.<sup>268</sup> (plate 15)

<sup>264</sup> Panofsky to Fritz Saxl, 10 February 1934, WIA, General Correspondence, 1934–6.

<sup>265</sup> Panofsky to Saxl, 7 March 1934, WIA, General Correspondence 1934–6.

<sup>266</sup> Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts*, London, Penguin, 1970, p.369.

<sup>267</sup> David Summers, 'Meaning in the visual arts as a humanistic discipline' in Lavin (ed), *Meaning in the visual arts: views from the outside*, Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study, 1995, p.9.

<sup>268</sup> Panofsky, *Meaning in the visual arts*, pp.377–8.

As hostilities in Germany and Austria gathered force, Continental scholarship and European modern art were viewed as an endangered culture. Efforts were made to create both real and honorary positions at British and Dominion universities for many of the outstanding scholars seeking refuge. Sir Kenneth Clark, whose prominent social and professional standing as the Director of the National Gallery, Keeper of the Queens Pictures and, during the war, Director of the Film Division in the Ministry of Information, operated across many areas, successfully circumventing and obtaining the release of aged and important continental scholars from internment.<sup>269</sup> Clark wrote in 1948 of the 'infinite capacity' of these European intellectuals and their ability to re-invigorate and embellish the rather tired cultural landscape of England. 'All of us who are concerned, even remotely, with the history of art, looked to Saxl for help, sympathy and flashes of perception which vanished almost before we were aware of them, but changed the direction of our thoughts'.<sup>270</sup>

After the relocation of the Warburg Institute in December 1933, Fritz Saxl established himself as one of the major intellectual forces in London. He erected bridges within the British cultural scene and built strong networks with distinguished men of culture and the arts such as the shy and modest A.E. Popham of the Prints and Drawings Department at the British Museum, Karl T. Parker at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the art critic John Pope-Hennessy and the artist Eric Gill. Saxl's engagement with English scholars, curators and connoisseurs began as early as 1926 when he 'went to England to study the astrological manuscripts in the libraries of London, Oxford and Cambridge'.<sup>271</sup> From 1934 he resumed these contacts with ease and dignity. He worked long hours to accommodate displaced scholars within the British academic system and devised schemes that would show the English how the Europeans' knowledge and skills could best be utilised. Ursula Hoff's appointment to assist Parker on cataloguing the Oppenheimer collection is an example of Saxl's

<sup>269</sup> Saxl called upon Clark to help get the release of his son Paul from internment as well as many other refugee scholars, including the Viennese scholar Johann Wilde, who became a highly respected lecturer at the Courtauld Institute of Art.

<sup>270</sup> Kenneth Clark, 'Scholarship and humanity', *The Listener*, 6 May 1948, p.749.

<sup>271</sup> Bing, *Fritz Saxl (1890-1948)*, p.14.

influence in such matters.<sup>272</sup> The photographing of important British monuments was among some of these achievements and once the war had begun and buildings and landmarks bombed, these photographic archives became invaluable resources for reconstruction and historical purposes. Other contributions included 'the first survey of the archives of Chichester Cathedral, and a preliminary hand-list of illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum'.<sup>273</sup> By the end of 1934, Saxl was able to write the following:

The first year of our existence in England thus represents a period during which we have maintained most of our old activities and tried to feel our way towards new ones...What has been achieved has been due to the support of our English hosts, to the help given to our work by the Warburg family and their continued confidence and good will; and to the unlimited opportunities which London offers anyone willing to grasp them.<sup>274</sup>

### **The Warburg Institute's Relocation**

It is worth recounting the Warburg Institute's extraordinary escape from Hamburg to London. Nazi censorship would have condemned and burned this valuable and rare library in its entirety as much because it was owned and financed by Jews, as for its non-Aryan contents. The Academic Assistance Council was the precursor of the Society of Protection of Science and Learning. The AAC was 'formed in May 1933 to assist scholars and scientists who on grounds of religion, race and opinion, were unable to continue their work in their own country'.<sup>275</sup> Its services not only helped the 1300 university teachers who were dismissed from their positions in Germany, but also refugee scholars in Russia, Portugal and other countries. Due to the imagination and the humanitarian concerns of its members, Walter Adams, Professor C. S. Gibson and

<sup>272</sup> Saxl offered Clark suggestions concerning projects for the Ministry of the Arts, such as making use of the exiled Austrian architect Adolf Loos and the musician Arnold Schoenberg. TGA/KCP/MS. 8812.1.14.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, p.20.

<sup>274</sup> Warburg Institute, Annual Report, 1934-5.

<sup>275</sup> Academic Assistance File, WIA.

Professor W.G. Constable, in collaboration with Sir Edwin Deller, the Principal of the University of London, Sir Dennison Ross of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Sir Robert Witt, Sir Samuel Courtauld, Lord Lee of Fareham of the Courtauld Institute, the Warburg Institute was offered refuge in London. This was in the guise of a formal invitation for a period of three years. The Hamburg emigration authorities consented to this,<sup>276</sup> and 'One day a ship arrived in the Thames carrying six hundred boxes of books plus iron shelving, reading desks, bookbinding machines, photographic apparatus'.<sup>277</sup> But while this went smoothly and premises were secured in Thames House, it was, as Kenneth Clark wrote, 'more difficult to transplant a living institution like the Warburg without spoiling its character.'<sup>278</sup> Clark attributed the successful adaptation and adoption by the English largely to Fritz Saxl who understood 'the English approach to history, and recognised that English scholarship applied to the arts, although modest and pedestrian looking compared to the dialectical of the Germans, or the philosophic subtleties of the Viennese, had a character and a virtue of its own.'<sup>279</sup>

Though Saxl was not alone in securing the Warburg Institute's position in Britain — Edgar Wind was involved from the beginning and was particularly important in the negotiation and relocation process — retention of its unique qualities whilst conducting its marriage to the University of London testifies to the extent of Saxl's ability to move within both the English and the European systems. Deeply aware of the considerable problems facing the German émigrés, particularly as the darkening clouds of National Socialism approached, Saxl employed people such as Charles Mitchell and Anthony Blunt at the Institute, hoping that their presence might facilitate a two-way process that would enable the émigré scholars to acclimatise and assimilate into the British system. The Warburg people liked Blunt, who 'seemed to

<sup>276</sup> Soon after this, official business was transferred from the Hamburg authorities to the central National Socialist offices in Berlin, which would not have condoned the Warburg Institute's move. See Bing, *Fritz Saxl*, p.19.

<sup>277</sup> Fritz Saxl, 'The history of Warburg's Library, 1886–1944' in Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, p.337. See also Bing, p.19.

<sup>278</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark, notes for a BBC radio broadcast, 13 June 1948, p.6, TGA/KCP/MSS 8812.2.2.1118.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid*, p.6

identify with their outsider status, and was comfortable with their foreignness'.<sup>280</sup> John Pope-Hennessy, the English art historian, claimed that it was Saxl's scholarship and professionalism which 'transformed Anthony Blunt from a *jeune* Marxist journalist into one of the most accomplished art historians of his day'.<sup>281</sup> That Saxl was able to organise for the British scholars to help the Continental ones with the English language, both in its written and spoken form, while simultaneously having their own art historical education polished and expanded, shows the extent of the mutual benefits. One of the most inhibiting factors confronting the exiled intellectuals was the loss of their native voice, and their inability to think, speak and write in English. These well-educated scholars had based their professional lives teaching in German universities, or writing and publishing in German.

Exiled scholars needed assistance in the choice of subject matter; a significant example of this was the commission that Charles Mitchell procured for Ursula Hoff in 1938–9. This contract with the publisher William Collins was to write a general art education book, titled *Charles I, Patron of Artists*. It was finally published in London during the war in 1942 — two years after Hoff had left for Australia — and was a considerable feat given the shortages of paper, money and audience. Ursula Hoff recalled the difficulties that accompanied such a commission in English. German cultural heritage and language was incompatible with English formulations and to write in another language 'presupposes not only great facility but considerable familiarity with another culture'.<sup>282</sup> But Hoff was multilingual, and like her fellow Hamburgians Fritz Saxl and Edgar Wind, she had a reasonably well developed understanding of English culture.

This new era of intellectual coalition was further facilitated by many English patrons and sympathetic scholars who understood the value of learning. More than just remarkable testimonies of patronage in these savage years, these extraordinary episodes of humanitarianism remain largely if not wholly responsible for the survival of the science and learning of the early twentieth century. One example was the

<sup>280</sup> Carter, p.143.

<sup>281</sup> Carter, p.210.

<sup>282</sup> Richard Dove, 'The gift of tongues: German speaking novelists writing in English' in William Abbey, Charmian Brinson, Richard Dove, Mariam Late and Jennifer Taylor (eds), *Between two Languages: German speaking exiles in Great Britain, 1933–45*, Stuttgart, Hans Dieter Heinz, 1995, p.95.

Academic Assistance Council, which had by March 1936 received over £46,000 in donations and 'assisted in permanently re-establishing 363 of the 700 displaced scholars who left Germany and a further 324 were temporarily maintained in universities.'<sup>283</sup> Amongst the members of this humanitarian council were newly arrived German scholars and businessmen, such as Ernst Cassirer, Fritz Saxl, Gertrude Bing, Edgar Wind, Frederick Antal, Rudi Wittkower, Nikolaus Pevsner, Raymond Klibansky, Gustave Delbanco and Ernst Freud.<sup>284</sup>

The transfusion of these continental people into the mainstream branch of English culture and connoisseurship constituted the foundations for new and exciting intellectual collaborations and appreciation of the fine arts. Another major contribution made by the émigré scholars was the awareness that 'truly great works of culture... must be continually possessed anew and hence continually recreated.'<sup>285</sup> This very condition of re-possessing, applied to major art and cultural repositories throughout Great Britain, and indeed, in other western cultures, not only re-invigorated the story of art, but raised the standard and understanding of its historical position to new levels.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century the differences in the art produced in England from that being produced on the Continent can be largely attributed to the psychological and political instability of the time. Modern twentieth century European and German art in particular was as much a response to its own inherent and complex history as was the need to break from traditionalist and romantic idioms. This had been emerging from its writers, poets and philosophers since the enlightenment, but by the twentieth century expressionist art, the mathematical clarity of constructivism, or the streamlined economy of Bauhausian design were reactions to, but equally products of, the turmoil of this European social and cultural reformism.

<sup>283</sup> Academic Assistance Council file, WIA.

<sup>284</sup> Gustave Delblanco was from Hamburg, but escaped to London in 1933. He became an important art dealer, starting with Old Masters but transferring to modern art. His art gallery, Roland, Browse and Delbanco at Cork Street, London, was one of the most successful of the contemporary galleries operating from the 1960s. It is now known as Browse and Darby, at the same address. The author was fortunate to have interviewed Gustave Delbanco in 1996 at his home in Hampstead. Hoff knew Delbanco during this period.

<sup>285</sup> Ernst Cassirer, *The logic of the humanities*, trans. by Clarence Smith Howe, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961, p.88.

The spectacles of Dadaism and Surrealism were the most wildly visible and vocal of the new movements and 'dominated poetry and painting in Europe and exerted an influence upon the work of virtually every major artist everywhere'.<sup>286</sup> This art addressed the politically diseased trunk of humanity by attacking the brutal roots of Fascism and German National Socialism, but it rejected the tenet of rationalism. Their commitment to the abstract and the irrational became a revolutionary placard against the derangement of dictatorships throughout Europe.

This was most marked in Nazi Germany, but it was also there that cultural censorship became extreme. By purging vast quantities of 'undesirable' modernist art from German museums, the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda aimed at removing the voice of protest, but this action only served to illuminate art as a political force. The 'Degenerate Art Exhibition', or *Entartete Kunst*, which opened in Munich in July 1937, was a public condemnation of avant-garde art as products of moral and social depravity. (plate 16) Expressionist art, it claimed, was fetid and subversive. Of the one hundred and twelve artists included in the *Entartete Kunst* only six were Jews, and as Tom Ambrose points out being Jewish was not the only reason an artist was defiled.<sup>287</sup> A work that was deemed 'un-German' or degenerate as defined by the Nazi cultural crusade put artists such as Kandinsky, Klee, Grosz and Nolde immediately as 'undesirables'. Emil Nolde, though not a Nazi party member as some authors have suggested, was nevertheless sympathetic to certain ideologies of the National Socialist Party, yet as an artist, his style of painting did not conform to *Volkisch kunst*, and eventually he 'suffered the most severe ostracism of any artist under the Nazis'.<sup>288</sup> The enormously successful *Entartete kunst* exhibition attracted over two million visitors when it toured around Germany and broadcast the newly formed *Reichskulturkammer*, the Reich Chamber of Culture's authority, as an organ of absolute censorship. The Nazi cultural police confiscated approximately 19,500 works<sup>289</sup> by some 1,400 artists

<sup>286</sup> 'Introduction: Dada, Surrealism and Scuola Metafisica: The Irrational and the Dream' in Chipp, *Theories of modern art*, p.375.

<sup>287</sup> Ambrose, *Hitler's loss*, p.67.

<sup>288</sup> Tilman Osterwold and Thomas Knubben (eds), *Emil Nolde: unpainted pictures*, Germany, Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2000, pp.143-9.

<sup>289</sup> This is the most recent figure of confiscated art, cited in *ibid*, p.142.



and declared that the art works would 'serve as fuel for heating public buildings'.<sup>290</sup> Though some 5000 works were incinerated in the courtyard of the Berlin Fire Station, others were looted by prominent Nazi figures and many found their way onto the international market.<sup>291</sup> As Hitler's henchmen carried out their clean-up operation, local and international art dealers and collectors moved in. Bruce Altshuler points out, 'that while it revealed the immense power associated with an art that clearly undermines the policies of [Nazi] correction', this censorship immediately attracted critics, international attention and created new markets and demands for a persecuted cultural commodity.<sup>292</sup>

Some paintings were regarded as 'internationally disposable stock' and the *Galerie Fischer* in Lucerne was contracted to auction 125 works.<sup>293</sup> These included paintings by Van Gogh, Munch, Cézanne, Paul Signac and Franz Marc while other paintings were exchanged for old master pictures. One of the more important British art dealers, the Colnaghi Gallery in London, offered to buy the entire collection but their offer was rejected, while the *Galerie Zak* in Paris managed a few acquisitions.<sup>294</sup> The exigent movement of modern European art across borders and into countries and collections that otherwise may not have acquired avant-garde art as they did, only highlighted the panic mood for human and cultural survival. There are many examples of important art works that survived the Nazi cultural pogroms and became part of the translocation of European culture. Of particular interest to this research are those stories that directly affected Australian institutions and protagonists concerned in this thesis.

Hans Calmann and his wife Gerta, escaped to England from Hamburg in March 1937, bringing in their luggage a work by Toulouse-Lautrec that they sold soon after their arrival in London. This enabled them to establish themselves domestically and for Hans Calmann to begin operating as an art dealer. Other art works which they carried into England included an Alexandrian stone head and a Manet brush drawing of

<sup>290</sup> Bruce Altshuler, *The avant-garde in exhibition: new art in the twentieth century*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1994, p.138.

<sup>291</sup> Andreas Huneke, 'On the trail of missing masterpieces', in Barron, 'Degenerate art', p.128.

<sup>292</sup> Altshuler, *The avant-garde in exhibition*, p.

<sup>293</sup> Huneke, 'On the trail of missing masterpieces', p.128.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid, p.125.

'Olympia', then not considered outstanding, but which is now in the National Gallery of Ireland.<sup>295</sup> Calmann came from a wealthy Hamburg stockbroking firm and may have known the Hoff family, as Ursula Hoff established a close friendship with him in London during the later part of the 1930s.<sup>296</sup> Concurrent with Annely Juda's perception of London as being more *laissez-faire*, accommodating and supportive, Calmann — being adventurous and enterprising — established himself as one of 'an incredibly active network of refugee émigré dealers' operating in London.<sup>297</sup> He dealt mostly in works on paper, regularly buying from Zwemmers and selling to Karl Parker of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>298</sup> Calmann claimed that apart from the Oppenheimer sale in 1936 where some enormous prices were paid for drawings, works on paper were a relatively neglected genre in England.<sup>299</sup> The only other dealer active in this area was the London firm, Colnaghis,<sup>300</sup> which had monopolised the market for Old Master drawings. Calmann, writing of the influence of the European refugees on the London art market prior to the war, said that their 'taste pervaded gradually the London market where little attention [had been] paid to many continental predilections'.<sup>301</sup> The émigré art dealers not only increased the availability of cheap master and modern prints and drawings in England, but their role in the movement of large quantities of art particularly between Paris and Amsterdam to the safety of London, indisputably played a significant part in that city remaining a dominant post-war centre in the international and European art market.<sup>302</sup> Furthermore, the émigré dealers created a new type of collector, that of a more modest means, as well as establishing a new appreciation of these 'minor' mediums. Their presence and work in

<sup>295</sup> Calmann memoirs. These memoirs were written by Calmann in 1974.

<sup>296</sup> Hoff, Journal, 1939, HP/Private. Hoff's connection with Karl Parker dated from 1935 when she assisted in cataloguing the Oppenheimer collection of Old Master prints and drawings. Calmann sold to Parker regularly and this is another way that Hoff may have met Calmann.

<sup>297</sup> Calmann memoirs, p.6.

<sup>298</sup> Ursula and Thusnelde Hoff owned a number of old master prints, some of which were exhibited at the National Gallery of Victoria in 1966 in an exhibition in the Print Gallery, titled *Fine prints from private collections*.

<sup>299</sup> Calmann, p.21

<sup>300</sup> Colnaghis was established in London in 1760 and was the first commercial gallery to promote photography as an art form. Hoff maintained a professional connection with this art dealer from as early as 1935. James Byam Shaw (1903–1992) joined Colnaghis at about this time and was a director between 1937 and 1968.

<sup>301</sup> Calmann, p.23.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid, p.23.

buying, borrowing, selling and lending major and average works of art for exhibitions enhanced and enriched the knowledge of British curators and connoisseurs as well as providing major museums and private collectors with new material.

Around the same time another German Jewish couple Victor and Berta Singer escaped from their native Hamburg where they had owned a successful under-garment factory, and arrived in Melbourne in 1937. Singer had been a passionate collector of modern European art, and he escaped with a large part of his collection of prints and drawings in his suitcases. (plate 17) As with many other European refugees, these works of art became a financial ticket for his family when, in late 1943, Ursula Hoff made a selection of modern French and German prints from the Singer collection for the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>303</sup> Another important collection of art, the Ullman collection, consisted largely of medieval church sculptures, and was partly relocated to London and Switzerland from Frankfurt en Maine before the outbreak of the Second World War. A small part made its way with the family to Australia in 1939,<sup>304</sup> and Mrs Hedwig Ullman offered a number of these works to the National Gallery of Victoria in October of that year.<sup>305</sup> (plate 18)

The German Erich Cassirer, who had operated a successful art gallery in Berlin, managed to escape with a substantial part of his private collection. In England he met up with his exiled uncle, the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, and his nephew Werner Falk. In order to re-establish himself, Cassirer sold part of his collection to Falk and his Australian wife, Barbara. In 1951, when the Falks settled in Melbourne, some of these significant Egyptian and oriental treasures arrived in the antipodes, where they have occasionally been lent for exhibition.<sup>306</sup>

The National Gallery of Victoria also acquired works of art that had been part of the cultural exodus. An exquisite fifteenth century painting, *The Virgin and Child*, by Simon Marmion was once owned by the Polish nobleman Count Czarotorisky, whose collection had been one of the finest in Europe — it became the State collection

<sup>303</sup> Telephone conversation with Victor Singer's grandson David Segal, September 2002. See NGV stockbooks/microfilm for Hoff's selection of Singer's collection.

<sup>304</sup> Albert Ullin, interview, 10 December 2002.

<sup>305</sup> See below Chapter 4, pp.149–50

<sup>306</sup> Dr Barbara Falk, interview, 1 November 2001. Two works were exhibited at the Myer Mural Hall in the 1950s.

of Cracow. When the Czarotorisky family fled to Paris after the Nazi invasion of Poland, they carried this small Flemish masterpiece in their luggage. It was sold in London in 1954 to the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>307</sup> (plate 19) There were other ways of relocating European works of art out of the danger-fields of Germany, France and Holland. The staging of exhibitions through loans from private collections became one such method. In October 1939, Australians had the opportunity of seeing the *Herald Exhibition of Modern French and British Paintings* held at the Melbourne Town Hall. These art works were lent as much with a view to their protection during an increasingly fragile political time, as for the goodwill and cultural advancement for the people of Australia.

In London European art was exhibited at several commercial galleries. In June 1934, at the Lefevre Gallery, an exhibition titled 'Renoir, Cezanne (sic) and their contemporaries' attracted art enthusiasts, including the young Joseph Burke, who wrote:

The Cezanne (sic) was so exciting ... but I will mention three favourites, 'Les Moissonneurs', 'Le Pont de Bois, and 'La Montagne Sainte Victoire. Two striking Van Gogh's, 'le paysan', and 'entree d'une ferme aux environs d'arte'. A typical Claude Monet, 'Les deux pecheurs', ... Also two exquisite things of Toulouse Lautrec, 'La goulue et son cavalier au bal du moulin rouge' and 'la goulue au moulin rouge'. Toulouse Lautrec makes caricaturist effects blend into a work of the highest art.<sup>308</sup>

In January 1935, Thos. Agnews held an exhibition of Renoir's late pictures<sup>309</sup> and the Zwemmer Gallery was one of the earliest and most avant-garde venues for modern art in London.<sup>310</sup> In 1936 *The First International Surrealist Exhibition* at the New Burlington Galleries was one of the more significant of this type of event. Organised by Roland Penrose and Herbert Read, most of the works belonged in private collections or to the artists, either in England or on the Continent. The exhibition attracted an attendance of over 20,000 people in the three weeks that it was held and

<sup>307</sup> Hoff, *European painting and sculpture before 1800*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1973, p.96.

<sup>308</sup> Burke, journal, 14 July 1934, UMA/BP.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, 20 January 1935.

<sup>310</sup> Zwemmer's had the reputation of having done more than most 'towards bringing the culture of the continent to art-less Albion', *Time and tide*, 29 April 1939, cited in Nigel Vaux Halliday, *More than a bookshop: Zwemmer's and art in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, London, Philip Wilson, 1991, p.12.

shocked the majority of the viewers. Surrealism was one of the most provocative and important forms of artistic expression in these uneasy decades. It struck at reality, and neurotically signified that 'civilization ... had lost its way.'<sup>311</sup> Yet it seemed prescient of the chaos to come. Other important exhibitions that followed this event were Picasso's great propagandist *crie de coeur* painting *Guernica*, also exhibited at the New Burlington Galleries in 1937 and the Whitechapel Gallery in 1938. This was followed by a *Twentieth Century German Art* exhibition held at the same gallery later in that year, while in 1939 Ursula Hoff saw a Cézanne exhibition which she considered impressive.<sup>312</sup> The impact that these avant-garde and modern works had on her — together with impressionist and modern art that she had seen in her adolescent and student years in Munich and Hamburg — formed the basis of her knowledge of modernism and gave her reference points and benchmarks which she would consciously use for the rest of her professional life.

### Exodus

Hoff witnessed these extraordinary exhibitions storming London's cultural venues, but she also knew — like any sagacious European art historian — of the kenosis of art and culture from Europe, and perhaps considered herself part of the human and cultural cargo being expelled from Europe. By 1938–39 as Hitler's forces cast further afield, exiled German Jews living in England became increasingly concerned at getting as far away from the impending war as possible. Many chose to embark once more on migration. For Ursula Hoff to move to another country would mean leaving her ageing parents behind in London. But of greater concern to her was the lack of secure employment, and she knew that even the temporary positions she had been lucky in obtaining would soon cease. Most of the major art collections in London and other

<sup>311</sup> Longley, *Louis MacNeice*, p.45.

<sup>312</sup> The only Cézanne exhibition held in London at this time was an exhibition at the art dealer Wildesteins, titled 'Homage to Paul Cézanne'. See *Dictionary of art*, vi, p.376

important English centres had been relocated to large country houses, or in the case of the National Gallery in London, to subterranean caverns in the Welsh slate mines. One of Hoff's last major jobs was as a research assistant for the exhibition *Seventeenth Century European Art in English Collections*, held at the Royal Academy in 1938; otherwise she managed to get occasional typing work with the book publishers Fabers.<sup>313</sup> She also obtained occasional work as a teacher in adult art education at the National Gallery.<sup>314</sup> Until her departure in October 1939, Ursula was employed as a secretary to Ludvig Burchard, who since 1922 had dedicated his life to 'compiling a new critical catalogue of the work of Rubens', the *Rubenaem*.<sup>315</sup> Hoff's article 'Peter Paul Rubens' in *Old Master Drawings*, 1938–1939 was a result of her work with Burchard.<sup>316</sup> Otherwise, most work associated with museums and art galleries in London suddenly evaporated.

Ursula had written as early as 1935 to Erwin Panofsky at Princeton inquiring about employment at American universities. But Panofsky's reply dampened any hope of obtaining work there: 'in a discipline such as ours, which has only become an academic discipline in the last fifteen years, there are many young people waiting for the older ones to make way'.<sup>317</sup> The issue of gender also worked against women, particularly at Princeton, where Panofsky said that 'masculinity' precluded opportunities for female art historians, 'especially when there are good American scholars awaiting positions'.<sup>318</sup>

By October 1938, with the Nazis' annexation of Austria, the refugee problem in England had begun to strain the relief agencies, and Esther Simpson of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning wrote that, 'The refugee problem is completely out of hand. We now have Italians and Czechs and Hungarians. Technical experts are

<sup>313</sup> Hoff, journal, 1939, HP/Private.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> This work was never completed, as Burchard was interned in 1940, and his health deteriorated thereafter. See *Dictionary of art*, v, p.187.

<sup>316</sup> Hoff, 'Peter Paul Rubens', *Old Master drawings*, xiii, (June 1938), 14–16. It is understandable why some twenty-four years later, her contribution to the Daryl Lindsay Festschrift *In honour of Daryl Lindsay*, was 'The Sources of Hercules and Antaeus by Rubens', based on the small oil sketch acquired by the National Gallery of Victoria in 1947.

<sup>317</sup> Panofsky to Hoff, 28 September 1935, NGV/HC. I am grateful to Dr Lewis Wickes for this translation.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

hard enough to place ... and their cases are comparatively hopeful, as compared with the swarms of lawyers, philosophers etc.<sup>319</sup> The Australian Government at this time was asked to 'consider the plight of many thousands of unfortunate people as the result of recent happenings in Europe.' Its decision was that Australia should receive 15,000 refugees over a three-year period.<sup>320</sup>

In early 1939 the principal of the University Women's College at the University of Melbourne, Greta Hort, wrote to Helen Wodehouse, the principal of Girton College, Cambridge, asking whether 'it was possible to find a Jewish (or partly Jewish) refugee with a university degree, who would like to be College Secretary here?... I should much prefer one you had seen and who had been in England for some time...'.<sup>321</sup> While another woman had been selected for this position, the job was eventually offered to Ursula Hoff.<sup>322</sup> She accepted, considering it was an act of necessity, and at least this was a permanent position in a warm climate. She set sail aboard the *Orcades* of the Orient Line on 31 October 1939.<sup>323</sup>

Refugee applications for emigration to England and other safe destinations often failed, and in Vienna the reign of terror which began in April 1938 with 'the complete Aryanisation of Austria in accordance with the Nationalist Socialist Law'<sup>324</sup> accelerated the panic. As a resident in Vienna at the time, Marian Pollack wrote that 'the Austrian political horizon was dark... and as the Nazi ideas gained in Germany, the medieval demons of persecution began to raise their heads out of the European mire'.<sup>325</sup> The Viennese Jews were hounded day and night, their fears of recrimination, punishment or imprisonment ever present, their religious, intellectual or political beliefs were 'condemned to flames'. During the day, throughout this once grand city of culture, 'loud speakers were installed on high wooden stands in the streets... and we

<sup>319</sup> Esther Simpson to unidentified correspondent, 25 October 1938, Bod/SPSL/200.

<sup>320</sup> 'European Refugees: Admission to Australia', Hansard, 1 December 1938, copy at Bod/SPSL. Other conditions applied to refugee entry such as: 'only those classes whose entry ... will not disturb existing labour conditions. Special consideration will be given to individuals who have the capital and experience necessary for establishing and developing industries not already adequately catered for.'

<sup>321</sup> Unsigned and undated letter from the principal of University Women's College, Melbourne, Bod/SPSL.

<sup>322</sup> Nancy Searle to Mr Loewe, 22 April 1939, Bod/SPSL/200. The other person to whom it was offered, Mrs Jenny Shwarz, had a dependent mother, whereas Hoff was prepared to emigrate alone.

<sup>323</sup> Hoff, private journal, 1939.

<sup>324</sup> *The Jewish Chronicle*, 1 April 1938, newscutting in Bod/SPSL.

<sup>325</sup> Marian Pollack, Journal, CPP/NLA.

were treated all day long to the shrieking thunder of speeches by Hitler and Goering, roaring abuse at England, bawling insults at the Jews, splitting your ears with sound and fury'.<sup>326</sup>

Escape became paramount, and people like the Pollacks tirelessly applied and re-applied for permits and emigration papers, daily, weekly. In many cases their applications were refused or lost, and they had to begin all over again. The Nazis extorted and humiliated the Viennese Jews almost beyond the point of recovery. For those granted their certificates of emigration, entitlement to cross the German frontier into freedom simply pushed them into an exile of poverty, 'the privilege of leaving was expensive'.<sup>327</sup>

Franz Philipp was not so lucky. At the beginning of July 1938, Philipp wrote in a desperate state from his home at 64 Peter-Jordanstrasse in Vienna to Fritz Saxl in London. He told how he had been studying art history with *Hofrat* Schlosser and Professor Sedlmayr as well as history and medieval philosophy. His doctoral thesis in 'which he planned to attempt a demonstration of the development of mannerist images in northern Italy,' he felt under these conditions would never be finished.<sup>328</sup> His enquiry to Saxl as to whether the Warburg library could assist him with any work that might lead to him completing his doctorate in England was promptly rejected. Saxl's reply must have been devastating:

Thank you for your letter. I cannot give you the smallest hope that you will be able to complete your studies. Art history is hardly a university subject, and nobody would be prepared to... sponsor a university education for you (£200 *pro Jahr*) and in the end you would have no employment. I would advise you urgently to give up art history. In London alone there are more than twenty German art historians, none of which have any English employment. America is also flooded .... In France nobody of this profession finds employment... If I were you I would try to learn an agricultural or other craftsman profession. This seems to be the only way in which one can survive reasonably honorably these days.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid, p.95.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid, p.102. See Peter Wyden, *Stella: one woman's true tale of evil, betrayal and survival in Hitler's Germany*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1992,

<sup>328</sup> Philipp to Professor Paul [sic] Saxl, 7 July 1938, WIA, general correspondence. Paul Saxl was Fritz Saxl's son. *Hofrat* is an academic title reserved for the most illustrious; it literally means royal adviser.



I am very sorry to have to give you such advice.<sup>329</sup>

A short time later Philipp was arrested and imprisoned with his younger brother in Dachau. After enduring the terror of the camp for six months, his mother succeeded in securing Franz and Ernst's release and had also managed to acquire agricultural permits for her sons to enter England.<sup>330</sup>

Together with his two brothers, and his cousin Dolf Placzek, Franz Philipp made his way to England. In London 'they found lodgings in a seedy attic room at 100 Denbeigh Street, Pimlico, and [by day] they queued at Bloomsbury House'.<sup>331</sup> Philipp gained work as an agricultural laborer in Yorkshire, but in the summer of 1940 the British government panicked and interned all Austrian and German males above the age of sixteen and below sixty years — including Franz Philipp — within a broad coastal belt from 'Inverness in the north, to Dorset in the south'.<sup>332</sup>

On the 10 July 1940, Philipp and 2541 other German and Austrian internees set sail for Australia on the HMT *Dunera*, a voyage that would be damned as one of offensive and appalling conditions, far below the standards stipulated by the Geneva Convention. Winston Churchill in acute embarrassment described the *Dunera* event as 'a deplorable and regrettable mistake',<sup>333</sup> but ultimately the blame rested with both the British and Australian Governments who according to Cyril Pearl 'sacrificed humanitarian considerations to political expedience'.<sup>334</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Saxl to Philipp, 12 July 1938, WIA, General Correspondence. I am grateful to Dr Kerstin Knight for her translation of this letter and that in the preceding footnote.

<sup>330</sup> June Philipp, interview, 10 May 2001.

<sup>331</sup> See Graham, *The real Mrs Minerver*, pp.117–18. Philipp was very close to his cousin Dolf Placzek and remained in contact with him throughout his life. Placzek eventually married an English woman, Joyce, née Anstruther, Maxtone Graham, author of *Mrs Minerver*, published by Chatto & Windus in October 1938. Her book was adapted to film by MGM in 1940, starring Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon. It became one of the most successful Allied propaganda films of the war, with Winston Churchill 'predict[ing] that *Mrs Minerva*'s contribution to defeating the Axis powers would be more powerful than a flotilla of ships'.

<sup>332</sup> Cyril Pearl, *The Dunera scandal: deported by mistake*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1983, p.5. In London, Hoff's father, Leopold, was arrested and interned, and her mother was invited to stay with the Trevelyan at the 'Shiffolds' until his release. HP/Private.

<sup>333</sup> Pearl, p.137.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid*, p.v.

Joseph Burke: a *Minimus Incipe*<sup>335</sup>

Joseph Burke's education as an art historian and museum man was curtailed by the outbreak of the Second World War. Seconded initially into the Ministry of Information, he was soon positioned within the British wartime ministry and appointed as a private secretary to successive ministers. For six years, Burke associated with senior and powerful men in the British political war machine,<sup>336</sup> where his good nature, wit and an ability to remember and 'confine [information] to memory' made him popular with men such as Clement Attlee.<sup>337</sup> The prospect of a good career in the British civil service seemed assured. However, in 1946 he was offered the inaugural position of *Herald* Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne. In some ways this abrupt turn of events surprised many, but for Joseph Burke it was an opportunity for renewal, and a chance to make an impressive mark within a country that had not already been staked out by elite British or top ranking European intelligentsia. Furthermore, his translocation from the British civil service to be a free-ranging academic and cultural attaché in the 'Cinderella continent', as Burke was to refer to Australia, meant he would be grafted from an under-dog to a top dog position.<sup>338</sup> Australia, he believed, was an opportunity to weld the templates of British art and culture onto the Antipodean framework.

Joseph Terence Anthony Burke was born on 14 July 1913. His father, Rickard Martin Joseph Burke was a dedicated Roman Catholic and highly respected at his local

<sup>335</sup> This Latin phrase was used by Burke in a letter c. 1947–8, and translates as 'little beginning'. It was also the motto of the *Society of Collectors*, established by Burke as a forum for Melbourne connoisseurs to show, discuss and evaluate some of their most valuable *objet d'art*. Many of the objects were eventually donated and formed the basis of the University of Melbourne art collection.

<sup>336</sup> Some of these men included Kenneth Clark, Sir John Anderson, Henry Hake, John Pope Hennessy, Charles Mitchell (seconded to the Admiralty), Paul Oppé, Trenchard Cox, Lord Woolton,

<sup>337</sup> As a young boy, handicapped by chronically poor vision, Burke had trained himself to listen and absorb information in an almost mimetic manner. This proved a great asset as a secretary in meetings where planning and information was of critical important and highly confidential.

<sup>338</sup> Burke used the term 'the Cinderella of the Dominions' in a letter to Kenneth Clark, 30 January 1948. TGA/KCP/8812.1.4.33

parish church in Ealing.<sup>339</sup> The Burke family did not suffer the deprivations associated with the depression, and Joseph, the youngest of five sons, was privately educated at Ealing Priory School. Intelligent yet precocious, chronic shortsightedness handicapped much of Burke's primary and secondary education, and his academic performance was generally desultory.<sup>340</sup> Burke may have left school as young as sixteen years of age, and his application to Kings College at the University of London for a one year diploma course was accepted as a fill-in year until he was able to apply to Oxford University. However, Burke enjoyed the 'portals of Paradise' at Kings College and decided to remain at the University of London.<sup>341</sup> After some confusion over his age and the course structure which he had taken, the Registrar and the Principal decided to give him a special dispensation and Burke was awarded a degree in English Language and Literature in 1933.<sup>342</sup>

When Burke began a two year Masters Degree at the University of London in the academic year of 1933, he could not have chosen a better time in the world of art scholarship in Britain. Under the tutelage of Professor Jacob Issacs of King's College and Professor William G. Constable, the first director of the Courtauld Institute of Art — both institutions of the University of London — Burke capitalised on the exiled European art historians and scholars by attending lectures of a calibre unprecedented in the British world of art scholarship. This intellectual coruscation was the result of some of Europe's most distinguished scholars teaching with England's top ranking connoisseurs. Ironically, while the academic conditions of the Courtauld Institute were beleaguered by a prevailing dilettantism — a condition preferred by the Courtauld Institute's founding fathers, Sir Samuel Courtauld, Lord Lee of Fareham and Sir Robert Witt — it nevertheless provided employment and legitimate connections for many of the émigré German scholars seeking refuge in Britain, including Ursula Hoff.

---

<sup>339</sup> Burke's father began his career as a clerk in a private merchant bank and rose to the position of a branch manager at Lloyd's Bank. His mother was born Dora Teasdale 15 June 1873. I am grateful to Tom Hazel for biographical information and to Rickard Burke for access to Joseph Burke's private papers.

<sup>340</sup> Burke, interviewed by Anthea Burke, 1989, BP/Private. Burke recounts how he was unable to read from the classroom blackboard, and took most of his work home to read at night. It was not until his sight was properly diagnosed that Burke began to participate more in the outside and social world.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

The 'triumvirate of amateur collectors', Lee, Courtauld and Witt, insisted that the Courtauld Institute should 'provide a training for the professionals who intended to enter the various branches of the art business... [and] they were anxious that it should remain academic ...'.<sup>343</sup> Nevertheless, they did not see it as sharing 'the concerns of a university history department beyond an interest in chronology',<sup>344</sup> and were intent on the institute having a social dimension.<sup>345</sup> 'Courtauld was insistent that art history, which he probably thought of largely in terms of art appreciation should be offered as a one year first degree subject',<sup>346</sup> whereas Constable was adamant that the Institute should become exclusively a postgraduate course. Bridled with dilettantism and its wealthy female student population, the Courtauld Institute of Art came to be perceived as a 'finishing school for young ladies' rather than a serious institute for art history so needed in 'amateur England'.<sup>347</sup> W.G. Constable could only conceive of the Courtauld as bringing the history of art in Britain to a level more in line with European standards, and he argued for it to be restructured as a centre exclusively for postgraduate studies in the Fine Arts. While he had achieved a certain co-operation with the Warburg scholars, Constable felt defeated and resigned in spectacular disagreement with Sir Samuel Courtauld, Sir Robert Witt and Lord Lee of Fareham in 1936/7. Much of the British art world was dismayed at his departure and a list of guests at a farewell dinner held for him reveals that his supporters included many of England's finest scholars and connoisseurs, such as Colin Agnew, Leigh Ashton, Professor Bodkin, James Byam Shaw, Sir Sidney Cockerall, Trenchard Cox, A.M. Hind, D.G. MacColl, J.G. Mann, A.E. Popham and other important men. Constable went to Boston where he became Curator of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1937.<sup>348</sup>

However, one of the important lines of rescue came from the newly arrived exiled European scholars, and their impressive lecture calendar. In December 1933 the

<sup>343</sup> 'A Short History of the Courtauld Institute, 1931–2001', p.2, CIA.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> Carter, *Anthony Blunt*, p.214.

<sup>346</sup> 'A short history of the Courtauld Institute', p.2.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid.

<sup>348</sup> Other important men incensed at the loss of Constable included Bernard Berenson, Anthony Blunt, Sir Edgar Bonham Carter, D.Y. Cameron, Campbell Dodgson, Philip Hendy, K.T. Parker, William Rothenstein, Herbert Read, Randolph Schwabe, Leonard Woolley, Fritz Saxl. See memorandum 'To the Senate of the University of London', 1937, CIA.

Courtauld Institute secured Erwin Panofsky to give six lectures on 'Iconography and the Renaissance' — presenting for Hoff a chance to meet her exiled teacher. Other outstanding lecturers for the period between late 1932 to early 1935 included Roger Fry, Campbell Dodgson, Herbert Read, Anthony Blunt, Kenneth Clark, Rudi Wittkower, Frederick Antal, Walter Friedlander and Fritz Saxl. The real mentors to emerge for Joseph Burke from this new intellectual coalition were Edgar Wind, W. G. Constable, Margaret Whinney, Charles Mitchell and Nikolaus Pevsner. It is not clear whether Burke enrolled at the Courtauld Institute as a graduate student or whether his attendance was of a more informal nature. However, on deciding 'to combine the study of art with the study of literature' Burke selected the eighteenth century as his primary field.<sup>349</sup> His attendance at the Courtauld Institute, but in particular the Warburg Institute, provided a 'type of intellectual inquiry and [a] range of historically significant facts, plus a more imaginative approach to the arts than that with which they [the English] had been familiar'.<sup>350</sup> Burke later lauded Edgar Wind as 'one of the six most brilliant lecturers I have ever heard',<sup>351</sup> and his gratitude to the émigré scholars remained throughout his career.<sup>352</sup> Furthermore, the Warburg Institute worked hard at opening up their library to students and researchers, and would have welcomed a bright student such as Joseph Burke:

There is a special reason why we want to be able to get into our own rooms every book a student requires. We want the student to think of us not as a specialised library where he may study... history of art or religion ... on the contrary, as our own collection has been made with the special view to showing the inter-dependence of the different fields of research, so the student shall be accustomed to select his apparatus without any regard for the divisions between the different fields of historical research.<sup>353</sup>

The lecture programme at the Warburg Institute during the academic year of 1934–5 clearly indicates the scope of scholarship offered by its 'dismissed savants', — 'Renaissance Mythography in Humanism and Art', by M. J. Seznec, three lectures by

<sup>349</sup> Burke, journal, 9 November 1933, UMA/BP.

<sup>350</sup> Gordon (ed.), *Saxl*, p.26.

<sup>351</sup> Burke to Kathleen [possibly Fitzpatrick], 13 January 1954, UMA/BP/Box 4, Ms 83.34.

<sup>352</sup> Burke to Kenneth Turpin, 21 March 1955. UMA/BP. This letter concerned the vacancy of the Slade Chair at Oxford, which Wind successfully procured. Burke did not apply for the position then, but did so in 1960 when it became vacant again.

<sup>353</sup> Warburg Institute, Annual Report, 1933–4, p.4, WIA.

Fritz Saxl on 'Humanism in Venetian Art', and three lectures by the Hamburg philosopher Ernst Cassirer on 'The New Ideal of Truth in the Seventeenth Century'. Edgar Wind's lectures on 'Doctrines of Wit and Enthusiasm in Eighteenth Century English Art and Philosophy' would especially have appealed to Joseph Burke for his research interests on Hogarth and Reynolds. Further intellectual material offered by Wind must have seemed like manna from heaven to Burke, whose growing interest in aesthetic criticism in the eighteenth century was beginning to firm into a serious hypothesis. According to Burke, Professor J. Issacs had suggested the topic for his research programme, a revision of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, which included 'the unpublished manuscript drafts in the British Museum.'<sup>354</sup> Through the educative processes of the Warburgian/ German art historians and philosophers, Burke came more fully to understand the impact that European aesthetic theories had upon patriotic values that had so passionately been held by the English scholars, artists and connoisseurs of Hogarth's and Reynolds's time. The great eighteenth century Irishman and British politician Edmund Burke, to whom Joseph Burke claimed to be distantly related, had himself approved of Hogarth's aesthetic treatise and included it as a valid reference in his own *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* published in 1757. William Hogarth was one of the progressives arguing for cultural reform during the mid eighteenth century, disseminating art to a wider public and creating a new phase of patronage. Joseph Burke responded intellectually to the Age of Reason, but he also embraced the more proletarian position of Hogarth in the development of English art and aesthetics and the mystic musings of Blake. In 1934 Edgar Wind was

planning two studies into the philosophy and art history of the English Eighteenth century, one is going to investigate the connection between the theory of art and the painting of the three great English painters Hogarth, Reynolds and Gainsborough, and their relation to contemporary English philosophy, and the other will be an interpretation of David Hume.<sup>355</sup>

Six years later Joseph Burke gave the William Henry Charlton Lecture at King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne on 3 November 1941. He confronted the

<sup>354</sup> Joseph Burke, (Ed.), *William Hogarth, The Analysis of beauty: with the rejected passages from the manuscripts and drafts and autobiographical notes*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p.v.

<sup>355</sup> Warburg Institute, Annual Report, 1933-4, p.12.

European intellectuals with the same lecture 'Hogarth and Reynolds: A Contrast in English Art Theory' on the 26 February 1942 at the Warburg Institute.<sup>356</sup> While Burke's paper was appreciated, and indeed Saxl felt that the content was 'extremely good, closely knit, based on comprehensive research and succeeded very well in connecting art theory and the paintings of both Hogarth and Reynolds',<sup>357</sup> he nevertheless gave some constructive criticism, which in Burke's own words 'was much better for me than plain encouragement'.<sup>358</sup>

After gaining his Master of Arts in 1935, with a dissertation titled, 'A critical edition of William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*' Burke was appointed to a panel of lecturers for the University of Cambridge Board of Extra-Mural Studies and was also given some part-time work in the Department of English at King's College, London.<sup>359</sup> The director of the National Portrait Gallery, Sir Henry Hake, encouraged Burke to write articles on the new portrait acquisitions, which were published in the weekly journal *John O'London*, and in addition he catalogued an important collection of books associated with the English portrait.<sup>360</sup>

Early in 1936 Burke was awarded a fellowship to Yale University. The Henry Fellowship was established to promote Anglo-American friendship, and as such the student was not expected to complete a degree. But Burke chose to commence both the examination course as well as a second Master of Arts. He attended courses on American Art, History and Literature,<sup>361</sup> and completed a thesis on the biographical and critical study of the early life of Benjamin West.<sup>362</sup> The year at Yale University was one of Burke's happiest periods of study and his social life exceeded anything he had ever experienced:

In looking back it was the wider experience of American life that had an even deeper influence. I met more people and made more friends in a year than in a

<sup>356</sup> Annual report, 'Lectures 1941-42', WIA.

<sup>357</sup> Saxl to Burke, 27 February 1942, WIA, General correspondence, 1942-46.

<sup>358</sup> Burke to Saxl, 9 March 1942, *Ibid.*

<sup>359</sup> Burke, journal, 21 October 1935. Burke gave one lecture on 'Modern art' for the Extra-Mural Studies and lectures on medieval literature and Old English grammar at Kings College.

<sup>360</sup> Burke, interviewed by Anthea Burke, 1989.

<sup>361</sup> Burke, journal, 28 November 1937, UMA/BP: 'The experience of America was profitable and delightful. At Yale I attended lectures on American Thought and Civilisation (Professor Gabriel), American Literature (Professor Stanley Williams) and American Arts and Crafts'.

<sup>362</sup> Burke, interviewed by Anthea Burke, 1989.

whole life... This... gives a man confidence in establishing friendly relations with the people he meets or works with later on.<sup>363</sup>

Away from the class driven English hierarchy, Joseph Burke felt freer in spirit and intellectual pursuits, and American values, it seemed, did not place as much emphasis on the *billets de rigueur* of class and money. Several important American academics enjoyed the young Englishman's style, wit and intelligence. Wilmarth S. Lewis, the humanist scholar of Horace Walpole and a research associate at Yale from 1933 to 1938, was 'the personification of the well-heeled, genuinely cultured, independent scholar',<sup>364</sup> an elegant dilettante whose obsession with Walpole had transformed him into a worldly Anglophile. Lewis swept Burke up into a world of scholarship that was 'to be enjoyed', and with Theodore Sizer, Burke's supervisor, the young scholar realised that life and scholarship could be 'full of fine things'.<sup>365</sup> Both Lewis and Sizer remained important men in Burke's professional and personal life for many decades.

Burke's anxiety over his religious denomination, something that had plagued him for some time, also diminished during his stay in America. In England Burke felt burdened by his Roman Catholicism in what was a predominantly Anglican field, and no matter how bright or socially attractive he was, his future within the English social hierarchy, it seemed, was tainted by it.<sup>366</sup> Yet his Irish heritage was something that he found useful during the war years, when the Ministry of Information sent him to Dublin. His job there included a brief to keep an eye on John Betjeman. Betjeman's role 'as a guided cultural missile in neutral Ireland',<sup>367</sup> was to observe pro-axis Irishmen, and thus Burke's objective included both Betjeman's aims and directives, as well as reporting back to the Ministry on Betjeman's behaviour.<sup>368</sup> Both men conveniently shared the same initials, and while Betjeman had grand connections with many fine Anglo-Irish families, Burke could nevertheless claim a national legitimacy.

<sup>363</sup> Burke, speech titled 'Contribution by a Henry Fellow who wishes to remain anonymous', UMA/BP Box 72; Tom Hazel, interview, 30 August 2001.

<sup>364</sup> Robin W. Winks, *Cloak and gown: scholars in the secret war, 1939-1961*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987, p.96. Winks's marvellous account of Lewis confirms my view that to Burke Lewis was a figure of reverence, and indeed became one of Burke's mentors.

<sup>365</sup> Stephen Spender, poem cited in Burke's journal for 1 January 1935. UMA/BP.

<sup>366</sup> Tom Hazel, interview.

<sup>367</sup> Mowl, *Stylistic cold wars*, p.99.

<sup>368</sup> Tom Hazel and Professor F.B. Smith both brought this otherwise unknown phase of Burke's career to my attention.



However, Burke's perception that his Roman Catholicism hindered him in the higher levels of the civil service, later persuaded him and Agnes, his Canadian Methodist wife, to be received into the Church of England. This strategy, they hoped, would alleviate some of the colonial and class cringe symptoms which both felt.<sup>369</sup>

When Joseph Burke returned to England in the autumn of 1937 he was determined to pursue a career in a major museum. He had gained some previous experience in public lecturing when he was informally attached to the National Portrait Gallery in late 1935, and he resumed this again in 1937–8. During this time Burke began to extend his Yale thesis with the view to publishing it as a two-volume work,<sup>370</sup> a project still incomplete when, in July 1938, he began employment at the Victoria and Albert Museum. As a cadet in the Department of Circulation,<sup>371</sup> under the supervision of Leigh Ashton, then Keeper of Special Collections, Burke began to consolidate a view that utilitarian art stood as an equal partner to the fine arts, a belief that assumed more serious proportions throughout his life. His passion for the object, but specifically those objects that were 'the elite of design', manifested itself years later when he assisted Essington Lewis in establishing the Industrial Design Council of Australia.<sup>372</sup> Joseph Burke's brief apprenticeship at the Victoria and Albert Museum taught him that art and society should ideally function together, between man's pursuit of high art and the populism of functional art, craft, design and architecture. This tenet was in keeping with Burke's socialist aspirations and included a Hogarthian concern for aesthetical form: 'the artist must first conceive the *inside* of the surfaces. By considering objects in a shell-like manner, his imagination will naturally enter into the vacant space within the shell, and there at once, as from the centre, view the whole from within'.<sup>373</sup> This almost Zen form of understanding art appealed to Burke's imagination, and he

<sup>369</sup> I am grateful to June Stewart and Tom Hazel for contributing to this information.

<sup>370</sup> This publication never eventuated.

<sup>371</sup> Burke to Herbert Read, June 1958 (copy), Burke wrote, 'our first meeting when I was a cadet at the V & A....'. UMA/BP/Box 7. Burke was appointed Assistant Keeper to Leigh Ashton before war was declared but then seconded to the Public Service and therefore still retained that position when Keith Murdoch and Daryl Lindsay asked for him to be released for the *Herald* Chair.

<sup>372</sup> Burke used this term in association with the Industrial Design Council of Australia.

<sup>373</sup> Burke, *Hogarth and Reynolds: a contrast in English art theory*, The William Henry Charlton Memorial Lecture, November 1941, London, OUP, 1943, p.10. Burke refers to Hogarth's interpretation of form, see Burke (ed.), *William Hogarth: The Analysis of Beauty, with the rejected passages from the manuscripts, drafts and autobiographical notes*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1955.

considered that art should be associated with mystery as much as splendor. The fundamental position of art in industry and manufacture was just as important for Burke as 'pictures on a wall'.<sup>374</sup> Indeed, the qualities of external design and the inherent essence of the utility, the material and immateriality of function and form, particularly at a popular level, became the method through which Burke most enjoyed the aesthetic world. Moreover, for Burke to have retrospectively considered himself 'a pupil of Pevsner [rather] than [Kenneth] Clark' indicates a preference for an art that was attached to the utilitarian aspect of society. (plate 20).

At the outbreak of war, Joseph Burke, unable to enlist in the forces because of his poor eyesight, was seconded, together with many other university trained men, into the Ministry of Information. This government body dealt primarily with issues of censorship, propaganda, public morale and civilian and national security, and was during its first years of existence 'roundly and widely condemned for inefficiency, for comic blunders and for irritating rather than reassuring the public'.<sup>375</sup> Burke was known to get things occasionally wrong such as when he sent important military material to his Greek language teacher in Edinburgh and his Greek lessons were dispatched by special order to Sir John Anderson.<sup>376</sup> Early in the war, Joseph Burke was appointed press officer to the Minister of Public Relations, and a major part of this position was the control of information through the press to the public — something he would perform again as Herald Professor of Fine Arts.<sup>377</sup> It is also probable that at this time he met Sir Keith Murdoch, Australia's media baron. Murdoch had been summoned to England in October 1941 and briefed by the Ministry of Information on media propaganda in the Dominions.<sup>378</sup>

<sup>374</sup> Burke, interviewed by Anthea Burke, 1989.

<sup>375</sup> Ian McLaine, *Ministry of morale*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1979, p.1.

<sup>376</sup> Burke, speech to the Canadian Club on 21 November 1949, 'Some Impressions of a Private Secretary', relates several anecdotes about why he quit the corridors of Whitehall. UMA/BP.

<sup>377</sup> Burke, interviewed by James Mellon, 25 January 1989, SLV/Oral History Collection.

<sup>378</sup> Keith Murdoch to Mrs Swinburne, 17 October 1941, NLA/KMP/MS 2823/5/1. Sir Keith Murdoch was the Chairman of Australian Associated Press, which he helped to found in 1935. In this position Murdoch dictated when and what news broadcasts should occur, thus placing him in charge of dissemination of propaganda material and censorship of freedom of speech. In an undated message from the Australian Prime Minister J.A. Lyons to Keith Murdoch c. 1938, Murdoch's powerful position in Dominion affairs is evident, 'The Government is most appreciative of moderation which has been displayed generally by the Press of Australia in the comments on Eastern and European international

The Ministry was seen as providing 'refuge to dilettantes in search of an easy war',<sup>379</sup> and one of Burke's first jobs was to relocate an important collection of Chinese ceramics from the V&A — from where he had just been seconded — to the safety of a large, isolated old country mansion in Somerset.<sup>380</sup> This might have seemed a pleasant enough task but Burke's capacity and intelligence for tougher duties soon became apparent, and he was enlisted to work on the problems of civilian air raid shelters. Sir John Anderson's 'Shelter Shed' scheme provided the British people with corrugated iron bunkers to erect in their backyards in the event of bombings. The people may have felt that the Government cared, but in fact this cheap alternative was devised in order to avoid building large deep concrete bunkers. It was further hoped that these shelters would deter the public from rushing into the 'tubes' where 'subversive conversations against the Government policies' might occur. Moreover, the Government wanted to keep the tubes 'clear for the transport of armed police'.<sup>381</sup> The contrast between the squire and the worker was never more apparent than at this stage of Burke's life — the contrast between the band-aid of tin shelters for human life, and the security and safety of valuable artifacts in the basements of grand country houses seemed irreconcilable. That 'men and most towns can be replaced but fine buildings and works of art can't' only amplified the moral imbalance.<sup>382</sup> This was just one of the training grounds for Burke as a cultural administrator, and may be one of the reasons why this essentially kind, young man preferred to leave England after the war. Australia might well have been a less sophisticated country, but it would not have the economic, physical and psychological scars that Britain had.

From the experience gained in this Ministry and others such as the Ministry of Home Security, Burke rapidly learned how to take 'the public pulse' and prescribe to

---

situation...Freedom implies freedom to criticise... but it also implies responsibility...Some countries can and do control their Press by official instructions...'. NLA/KMP/MS 2823/1/4.

<sup>379</sup> McLaine, p.7.

<sup>380</sup> The urgent relocation of cultural treasures was carried out by directors and their assistants all over the country. A senior Keeper of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge wrote to Sir Sidney Cockerall that 'We are slowly taking down and packing pottery and porcelain in wooden cases and putting [it] in the basement....in fact in about a month we will have undone what you have spent the best part of your life doing'. Letter to Sidney Cockerall, 5 September 1939, BL/SCP/MS. 52737. Kenneth Clark similarly dispatched many of the masterpieces of the National Gallery to the cavernous slate mines of Wales.

<sup>381</sup> *The Week*, (no.385), 25 September 1940, PRO/INF/1/313.

<sup>382</sup> Thomas Sturge Moore to Sir Sidney Cockerall, 19 October 1940, BL/SCP/MS. 52737.

its ailments. The methods used by the Ministry of Information in exerting influence and patrolling the lives and tongues of the public can be gleaned from a directive such as 'In dealing with the news it is essential ... to give the public the impression of being candid and objective'.<sup>383</sup> By April 1942 the Ministry of Information claimed that 'At this stage of the War public feeling and the public reaction to the war cannot any longer be taken for granted. To study them is now [a] much more important concern of the government than it was two years ago.'<sup>384</sup> And this Joseph Burke did.

The political skills that Burke consciously and subliminally appropriated from such powerful men as Sir Kenneth Clark, Clement Attlee, Sir John Anderson, then Lord President of the Council, or Lord Woolton, the Minister for Supply and later Reconstruction, were forged through climactic moments when Burke obeyed, fraternised with and observed the big men of world politics. (plate 21) The centrality of his role is clearly illustrated by the fact that Attlee invited Burke to accompany him to Italy in 1944, and in 1945 — Attlee, then being prime minister — to the Potsdam conference in Germany, where Burke sat 'opposite Stalin at some of the meetings'.<sup>385</sup> (plate 22) On another occasion Burke was shown Hitler's bombed Chancellery office in Berlin and the despot's suicide bunker; and on another mission he flew with Sir John Anderson across the Atlantic where Anderson, in charge of British Atomic Research, held top secret talks with the Americans on what the British called 'the super obliterator' — the atomic bomb.<sup>386</sup> Joseph Burke was privy to some of Britain's most secret plans and political insights, placing him at a critical location in Britain's and the modern world's history. Burke emerged from this a man of greatly altered experience. His ability to attune to the ebb and flow of the public spirit as it had been bandied about by political and military forces had etched shadows into his life. London was grey and broken by the bombing, its people haunted and hungry, and reconstruction would be slow and laborious. The Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, had made this clear in November 1943: 'I regard it as a definite part of the duty and responsibility of this National Government to have its plans perfected in a vast and practical scheme to

<sup>383</sup> PRO/INF/1/679, Files of correspondence, 1936-1950.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> Burke to Rickard Burke, January 1954, p.2, BP/Private.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid. Burke was private secretary for two years to Sir John Anderson (later Lord Waverley). The term 'super obliterator' was taken from a written speech, unnamed source, found in Bod/MS.Attlee 24.

make sure that in the years immediately following the war, food, work and homes are found for all'.<sup>387</sup>

A year later Burke was assured of his job as a private secretary to the new Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, for at least the next two years, and after that he certainly could have returned to a 'good' position at the Victoria and Albert Museum. However, his vocation took an abrupt turn. On Tuesday, 19 June 1945, Daryl Lindsay, the director of the National Gallery of Victoria, who was in London gleaning the market for works of art for the Melbourne collection, had arranged to meet Joseph Burke at the Hanover for lunch.<sup>388</sup> Lindsay's agenda was to 'look over' Burke, whose name had been put forward for the position of the then undisclosed but proposed Herald Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne. Professor Theodore Sizer, Director of the Yale University Art Gallery and Burke's American post-graduate supervisor, had suggested his name to Sir John Medley, the Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University, who had then raised Burke's name at a National Gallery of Victoria Trustees meeting prior to Lindsay's departure for America and Europe.<sup>389</sup> Daryl Lindsay liked what he saw in the young Englishman, who was at the time, one of Lord Woolton's private secretaries. Burke is 'a really first class young man with exactly the right background', he told his wife.<sup>390</sup> Several more meetings followed during which the idea of a Chair of Fine Arts was discussed at length, as well as the associated role of a cultural liaison man with the National Gallery of Victoria. Burke was left to consider this unexpected opportunity of leaving England and embarking on a new life in the antipodes.<sup>391</sup> Lindsay was convinced that he was the man for the job, describing Burke as 'A splendid type with all the right qualifications [who] would come... and could do an excellent job.'<sup>392</sup>

---

<sup>387</sup> Bod/MS.Attlee 11.

<sup>388</sup> Burke, appointments diary, 17 June 1945, UMA/BP.

<sup>389</sup> Sizer knew Burke well as he had been his supervisor at Yale University in 1936. Sizer also had some experience of Australia and its major collections, for in late 1940 he had been appointed as an advisory selection member for the exhibition *Art of Australia* which opened at the National Gallery in Washington in 1941.

<sup>390</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Joan Lindsay, 22 June 1945, NLA/CPP/MS.8891.

<sup>391</sup> One of the lunches was attended by Lt. Colonel A.J.L. McDonnell, who had not yet been appointed as the Felton Adviser.

<sup>392</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Keith Murdoch, 9 July 1945, NLA/KMP/MS.2823/5/9.

When the war curtailed Joseph Burke's pursuit of the history of art, he was still able to maintain connections with prominent men in the British art world, such as Sir Henry Hake, John Pope Hennessy, Charles Mitchell (seconded to the Admiralty), Paul Oppé and Trenchard Cox, then Director of the Birmingham Gallery and later director of the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>393</sup> He was also on an Advisory sub-committee at St. Martin's School of Art,<sup>394</sup> and managed to give at least two art history papers. Although he had the right to resume his position at the V&A it was generally felt that the young Joseph Burke had been swooped upon by select civil servants and ministers and his development as a promising art historian had been arrested. Burke, however, may have found the Melbourne position too appealing to refuse, particularly with a break for his family from war-damaged London.<sup>395</sup> While the Herald Chair was offered initially as a three year appointment, acceptance would enable him to establish a department of fine arts, but also to be a cultural attaché responsible for taking art to the broader community while carving out a distinctive and important position for himself. The war years had proven that he could relate to a wider public, and had given him a broader understanding of society. Indeed, Joseph Burke had established his credentials with the politicians and the people, rather than the critical historians of art. As America had proven an emancipation for Burke, so he anticipated that the antipodean arcadia might hold a similar, though undoubtedly a more provincial, opportunity.

---

<sup>393</sup> Paul Adolphe Oppé (1878–1957) was a brilliant British educated Jewish scholar, writer, collector and museum man. He was deputy director of the Victoria and Albert Museum just prior to First World War and wrote on 'The Drawings of William Hogarth'.

<sup>394</sup> Burke's diary entries for the year 1945, BP/Private.

<sup>395</sup> During the war, Burke was a senior fire warden in Westminster Abbey, where he set up his stretcher bed in *Poets Corner*. Burke's wife had given birth during the blitz and between his night-watch duties, and as private secretary to various Ministers at Whitehall, Burke found little time to be with his new family.

### Three

#### Relocation to the Antipodes

And why, now it has happened  
Should the atlas still be full of the maps of countries  
We shall never see again?

And why, now that it has happened,  
And doom all night is lapping at the door,  
Should I remember that I ever met you -  
Once in another world?

Louis MacNeice.<sup>396</sup>

When Yosl Bergner arrived in Melbourne in 1937, Australian intellectuals and artists were embarking upon a decade in which Australia's cultural insularity would begin to disintegrate and European modernism would be celebrated. This period, marked by the struggle for liberation of ideological and cultural aspirations, nevertheless delivered many innovations, some of which continue to wield an enormous influence upon contemporary Australian culture.

The *Mitteleuropean* diaspora was a phenomenon of the Western world. Australia, from the late nineteenth century and particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, had been perceived internally and externally as a 'minor nation'. As a microcosm of this international phenomenon, sharing in the dispersal of human, intellectual and cultural cargo, the impact and collision of influences between the European and Australian intellectuals and artists was more pronounced. The modest expansion, but extraordinary enrichment in scientific, intellectual and cultural processes in Australia

---

<sup>396</sup> Louis MacNeice, 'September Evening', *New Statesman*, 18 November 1939 [copy in Hoff's hand], HP/Private. MacNeice wrote this shortly after war had been declared.

during the late 1930s and 1940s retains its own peculiarity, one which needs to be considered as a prologue to the more dramatic post-war expansion. The character of that expansion was as much a result of Australian-born men and women as it was of capitalising on the educated and cultured European refugees who arrived in this period. The acquisition of important traditional and modern European works of art for Australian collections dramatically increased at this time, further altering Australia's cultural capital.

The enormous changes of the early to middle decades of the twentieth century have been chronicled by many scholars from both a personal and a general perspective.<sup>397</sup> A rich spawning of research into episodic manifestations of the diaspora have continued to emerge since the late 1960s, particularly publications focused on the dynamic American and the British cultural and intellectual transformations.<sup>398</sup> As with many western cultures during this period, culture and politics were defined by the First and Second World Wars, the great depression and, in-between, the interwoven repercussions associated with these crises. This affected all capitalist societies, but in the United States of America the response to the absorption of European cultural and intellectual traffic differed greatly from that in Australia. The preferred destination of elite exiles from Nazi Germany, Austria and central European countries during the 1930s — for example, the intellectuals Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Hannah Arendt, Fritz Lang, Albert Einstein and Erwin Panofsky — was America. Switzerland, where Hermann Hesse retreated, was attractive if one had enough money, while Cuba, Canada, Israel and South Africa were considered the next safe havens. Australia and New Zealand were considered the least desirable due to their distance and cultural anonymity, and England became for the overwhelming majority of Germanic exiles the revolving door through which they passed whilst being processed and given visas to other destinations.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>397</sup> See selected works by Thomas Mann, Hannah Arendt, Arthur Koestler, Walter Benjamin, Noel Annan, Peter Gay and Nancy Mitford. Martin Gilbert's, *Descent into barbarism: a history of the twentieth century, 1933–1951*, London, Harper Collins, 1998, and Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of extremes: the short twentieth century, 1914–1991*, London, Abacus, 1995 for generalist texts.

<sup>398</sup> See Ash and Söllner (eds), *Forced migration and scientific change: émigré German-speaking scientists and scholars after 1933*, Washington D. C. Cambridge University Press, 1996. And

<sup>399</sup> For an excellent overview of cultural exiles and their destinations see Mark M. Anderson (ed.), *Hitler's exiles: personal stories of the flight from Nazi Germany to America*, New York, New Press,



In comparison to American cultural programmes such as the American Federal Arts projects, established in 1935, Australia's support for its own artists — apart from established and conservative artists such as Arthur Streeton, Hans Heysen, William Dargie, Harold Herbert — was almost non-existent. This lack of recognition of younger, modern artists, and to a lesser extent intellectuals, revealed a lack of foresight, institutional and political infrastructure and cultural patronage, all of which compounded Australia's provincial reputation. Exceptions included the initiative of several women in the arts and politics, such as Mary Alice Evatt, who advocated a scheme based on Britain's Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) and who helped to initiate the travelling art exhibitions organised in New South Wales. Maie Casey and Mary Cecil Allen, each encouraged Australian modernism in Australia and abroad.<sup>400</sup> As a result of the establishment in 1937 by Janet and Clive Neild of a progressive educational school, 'Koornong' at Warrandyte, numerous European émigré artists and refugee intellectuals were employed, including Danila Vassilieff, Emil Aldor, Alf Lorbach and Katie and Fritz Januba.<sup>401</sup>

The Australian historian Max Crawford wrote in the immediate post-war years that 'To migrate is to be uprooted, to be compelled to adjust old habits and assumptions to new circumstances.'<sup>402</sup> Crawford asserted that while the geographical and cultural distance from the immigrant's homeland was great, the migrant nevertheless would 'cling to his accustomed ways with all the force of the exile'.<sup>403</sup> However, the tenor of migration throughout the 1930s and 1940s was one of enforced exile, the immigrant arrived bearing the status of a refugee and the stigma of a displaced person. This precluded most from initially applying 'old habits' within their

---

1998 and Berta Irom, 'Where are the European writers?', *Meanjin Papers*, iv (no.2, Winter 1945), 124–6.

<sup>400</sup> Mary Alice Evatt, wife of the high court judge Dr H.V. Evatt, was a progressive thinker and supporter of modern art. Mary Cecil Allen left Australia in 1927 and returned on numerous occasions in 1935–6, 1950 and 1960, exhibiting and lecturing on modern art. Maie Casey, wife of Richard Casey the Australian Minister Plenipotentiary to the USA in Washington between 1940–42, facilitated cultural exchanges between Australia and America by purchasing and lending art to exhibitions. She was considered by the American press as 'drawing together the two English speaking [countries] Australia and America through the universal language of art'. Newspaper clipping, TGA/KCP, Miscellaneous correspondence, Ms 8812.1.1.16.

<sup>401</sup> Cleo Macmillan, telephone interview, 1 September 2004.

<sup>402</sup> R. M. Crawford, *Australia*, London, Hutchinson, 1965, p.11. This was first published in 1952.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

new Australian environment — except within the confines of their humble abodes. The overall conservative, introspective mindset of Australians in the period leading up to the Second World War was largely reflected by a crude reality within the cities and country, where as A. D. Hope put it, people sneered at immigrants and ‘the chatter of cultured apes’ who came from a ‘civilization over there’.<sup>404</sup> Only elite émigrés, the intelligentsia, could continue their professions *inter-alia*, and Australia received few of them.

### The Cinderella Continent<sup>405</sup>

Prior to 1939 Australia was largely regarded by both its own intellectuals and those in Britain, America and other developed cultures, as an isolated pastoral settler society, which ratified its ‘second hand’ image and its conservative guidelines in terms of British law and ethics. The playwright Louis Esson had felt that ‘Australia was stuffed with worn out things — novels, plays, pictures, cast-off fashions. The Prometheus of the Australian imagination is fettered by the mountains of British fact.’<sup>406</sup> The poet A.D. Hope also described Australian cities as places ‘Where second-hand Europeans pullulate, timidly on the edge of alien shores’.<sup>407</sup> Furthermore, the notion that ‘Independence is an intellectual and spiritual quality that emerges only at an advanced stage of cultural development’ had relegated Australia in the 1930s and early 1940s to a dismissible position by European intellectuals or cultural elites.<sup>408</sup> While there were certainly intellectual and creative coruscations throughout these decades —

<sup>404</sup> A. D. Hope, ‘Australia’, *Poems*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1960, p.100.

<sup>405</sup> Burke to Kenneth Clark, 30 January 1948, TGA/KCP/ 8812.1.4.33. Burke refers to Australia as ‘the Cinderella of the Dominions.’

<sup>406</sup> Quoted in Norman Bartlett, ‘The necessity of the little magazine’, *Meanjin*, vii (no.2, Winter 1948), 111-12.

<sup>407</sup> Hope, ‘Australia’, p.100.

<sup>408</sup> Australian expatriate intellectuals and artists such as Patrick White and William Dobell held this view. While twentieth century intellectuals considered Paris, Berlin, London and Vienna as centres for intellectual enlightenment. See Brian Penton, *Advance Australia —where?* London, Cassells, 1943, p.12.

particularly in the development of inter-war modernism in Sydney and George Bell's school of modernism in Melbourne — any real progress had been derailed by the Great War and the great depression. For many, this 'Cinderella continent' was perceived as a country of entrenched traditionalist values, a low wealth per capita, and a small population that had neither the education nor the intellectual apparatus to grasp the value of a cultural hegemony.<sup>409</sup> Phillip Sametz wrote:

The depression in Australia was no time for cultural philanthropy: the economic slump lasted longer here than it did in Britain or North America, since the lack of a solid manufacturing sector made recovery very slow. The unemployment rate climbed above 30 per cent more than once. There was also no tradition of private patronage in the arts ... Although the war had transformed the Australian economy, production had been geared to the war effort, and many sacrifices were still being made on the home front. Housing, fuel, food and drink were all in short supply. Food of all kinds were rationed ... Stockings were unobtainable, but RADON, 'the perfect stocking substitute in powder form' could be painted on.<sup>410</sup>

The provocative Australian journalist Brian Penton also regarded Australia's cultural and political condition in 1940 as anything but sophisticated. The nation's immaturity, he believed, was due to its ideological attachment and peripheral relationship to England. Intellectually and culturally, Australia was a country of 'fair average' people who stood 'at the crossroads' of mediocrity.<sup>411</sup> Judah Waten saw Melbourne as 'a city of hypocritical bourgeoisie'.<sup>412</sup> Helen Bourke has referred to 'the derivative nature of Australian thought ... and what happens to received ideas when they are applied to, or worked out in, the Australian variant of old Europe and the new world.'<sup>413</sup>

In Australia, this 'lingering sense of British heritage'<sup>414</sup> began to diminish during the Second World War as the old Empire was recast against a new emerging political and cultural scene. The struggle to liberate the rich cultural values of the émigrés during this transitional phase of the 1940s has seared this period as both tragic and liberating. Hitler's exiles had a profound impact upon Australia as it became a

<sup>409</sup> Indigenous culture during this period was considered to be more in the domain of anthropology.

<sup>410</sup> Sametz, 'Vienna down under', pp.12–13.

<sup>411</sup> Penton, pp.3, 64.

<sup>412</sup> Judah Waten, *Scenes of revolutionary life*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1982, p.19.

<sup>413</sup> Helen Bourke, 'A radical life: Don Watson's Brian Fitzpatrick', *Meanjin*, xxxviii (no.4, December 1979), 433.

<sup>414</sup> Richard White, *Inventing Australia: images and identity, 1688–1980*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1981, p.47.

more complex society, even if this impact was not immediately evident. While their intellectual and cultural influence became more apparent after 1945, the war years were an important gestational period for ideas and art styles that resulted from the Europeans' contribution. (plate 23)

Other outside influences were also beginning to operate conspicuously in Australia at this time with American competitive and popular cultural ideologies dominating the social, economic and intellectual environment. The American presence — by 1942 there were some 30,000 American servicemen in Melbourne<sup>415</sup> — highlighted and exacerbated social conditions and resentment of war-time rationing. Occasionally, this triggered violence of a deranged nature, as when the American soldier Edward Leonski brutally murdered three Melbourne women.<sup>416</sup> Women, particularly the younger ones, were transformed by the wartime conditions and their social visibility and excitement provoked a general moral categorization of them as 'a generation [who] revel[ed] in jazz, jitterbugging, [and] the elevation of the dress-model to stardom, the transformation by artifice of women into broadshouldered narrow-hipped, bosomless beings committed to ungainly attitudes'.<sup>417</sup> The coincidence of these popular cultural influxes with the impact of pre-war immigrants, the first wave of refugees and American GIs created a tense climate that facilitated the impetus for radical change. (plate 24)

This change was particularly felt within the arts. The fertility of cultural expression during the war years, when European avant-gardism relocated to new territory, became a point of departure for Australian artists, poets and intellectuals — and, for reasons discussed later, more so for those in Melbourne. Individuals who comprehended the chaos and revolution in Europe and its fleeing avant-garde and modernist culture as it scattered across the world, applied a new sense of observation to the Australian way of life, its land and its people. Artists such as Arthur Boyd,

<sup>415</sup> Kate Darian-Smith, *On the home front: Melbourne in wartime, 1939–1945*, Oxford, OUP, 1990, p.7.

<sup>416</sup> Kate Darian-Smith, *On the home front: Melbourne in wartime, 1939–1945*, Oxford, OUP, 1990, p.7. Kate Darian-Smith, 'Sexualising public spaces: wartime visions and the city', *Australian Studies*, no.9 (November 1995), p.21. Acute shortages of 'goods and services' created severe poverty conditions, particularly experienced by women and children as they struggled without a 'breadwinner'.

<sup>417</sup> James S. MacDonald, *Australian painting desiderata*, Melbourne, Lothian Publishing Company, 1958, p.140.

Albert Tucker, Joy Hester, Sidney Nolan, Russell Drysdale, Noel Counihan and Vic O'Connor, or literary and intellectual figures like Adrian Lawlor, Alister Kershaw, Max Harris and Bernard Smith owed much of their innovative work to this important transitional time, a time profoundly affected by international communism, National Socialism and the ideas of the newly transplanted Europeans.

Despite the international dismissal of Australia by the European avant-garde and intelligentsia, there was a prevailing concern from within for the nation's developing self-image. Although a minority voice, Australian intellectuals, artists, some communists and cultural sympathisers worked to counter provincialism by attempting to establish a more tolerant, intelligent and culturally appreciative society. Throughout the 1930s, as the international political temperature began destabilising the wellsprings of European culture, liberal Australian intellectuals pursued this change by evaluating Australian literature and art against its European counterparts. The peripatetic Nettie and Vance Palmer lived in London, Paris and Barcelona in 1935–6 before returning to Melbourne, and their attention to the international pulse was acute.<sup>418</sup> Other Australians, usually with distinguished cultural reputations such as Daryl and Joan Lindsay, Basil Burdett, George Bell, Sam Atyeo, Peter Purves Smith, Brian Penton and Miles Franklin, travelled to Europe to sustain their cultural and professional European connections, as well as returning with vital European cultural capital. In the 'Crisis Issue' of *Meanjin Papers* in 1942 Vance Palmer declared that Australia had 'something to contribute to the world ... in ideas for the creation of that egalitarian democracy that will have to be the basis of all civilised societies in the future ... I believe', he said, 'we will survive ... spiritually sounder than when we went in, surer of our essential character, adults in a wider world than the one we lived in hitherto.'<sup>419</sup> Palmer's rhetoric clearly looked to dividing pre-war Australia from its post-war position as two different ideological paradigms. His assertion of a new democratic socialism was given greater definition by the threat of communism and the evils of fascism and Nazism.

<sup>418</sup> Nettie Palmer, *Fourteen years*, pp. 147–227

<sup>419</sup> Vance Palmer, 'Battle', *Meanjin Papers*, i (no.8, March 1942), 5–6.

On his extensive European travels between 1933 and 1935, Basil Burdett, the art critic and friend of Sir Keith Murdoch, saw the prospect of a re-vitalised Australian culture, based upon a diverse, ethnographic mix, a 'melting pot' that Australia would inevitably become if the diaspora from Europe gathered momentum.<sup>420</sup> Burdett was particularly successful in organizing the *Herald Exhibition of Modern British and French Painting*, held at the Melbourne Town Hall in October 1939. William Dobell argued in 1940 for Australian artists to look to Europe in order to 'derive benefit' for 'a sure foundation' upon which a national culture might become more fully informed. 'Australia' he wrote, 'has not yet reached the stage where she can attain cultural maturity without strong influence from the great centres abroad.'<sup>421</sup> In 1938 Burdett reminded Australians that while there might be little in the way of modern art, in the European sense of the movement, particularly in Melbourne, 'You cannot insulate a country from outside influences and legislate for its development along academic or traditional lines'.<sup>422</sup> Burdett's warning was aimed at conservative men such as R.G. Menzies and R. H. Croll — particularly in their capacity as the self-appointed cultural manager and the secretary of the Australian Academy of Art — or J.S. MacDonald, the director of Melbourne's National Gallery of Victoria from 1937 to 1942. MacDonald condemned avant-garde art or modern 'outside influences' as 'this imported and perverted art, germinated in Europe in the soil of affliction and squalor, self-distrust and self-deception, and alien from Australian life.'<sup>423</sup> But Burdett was also warning Australians about its apathetic cultural condition. Philistinism in Australia was an endemic condition associated with the middle class bourgeois 'who sought solutions in the values of the past'.<sup>424</sup> Yet this conservatism was a catalytic force in helping to

<sup>420</sup> Basil Burdett to Nettie Palmer, in Vivian Smith (ed.), *Nettie Palmer*, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1988, p.134. Burdett was caught up in Spanish pre-war hostilities and was aware of the political instability shaking much of Europe. He sent regular articles to the *Herald* about his European travels and also consolidated many friendships with important art collectors, connoisseurs and artists.

<sup>421</sup> William Dobell, 'Australian painters look to Europe', *Art in Australia*, (February 1940), p.23.

<sup>422</sup> Basil Burdett, 'Modern art in Melbourne', *Art in Australia*, (November 1938), p.23. This essay was a response to the foundation of Robert Menzies' Academy of Australian Art.

<sup>423</sup> MacDonald, *Australian painting desiderata*, p.135.

<sup>424</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.32.

define where the cultural deficiencies lay as well as providing a direction to the more progressive 'modernists' who sought to create a 'renovated system of value'.<sup>425</sup>

The arrival around 1940 of several thousand exiled Europeans was therefore controversial from the conservatives' view, but salient for the development of Australian culture and scholarship. Many of the refugees were able, after an initial probationary period, to renew their grasp and redirect their most valued talents within their new home. From the havoc of the European war and for the second time in its young European history, Australia became a social laboratory where the *mitteleuropeans* 'took the spirit of Weimar into life, into great careers and lasting influence in laboratories, in hospitals, in journalism, in theatres, in universities and gave that spirit its true home in exile.'<sup>426</sup> The presence of the refugees not only contributed to redefining Australian intellectual and cultural conditions, but also assisted in consolidating international ideas. Reflecting in 1948 on the post-war Australian intellectual and cultural condition, the poet Robert Fitzgerald wrote 'is it not possible that from the accidents of geography it may be Australia's duty and privilege to save from the wreck of civilization the little upon which we may build again'.<sup>427</sup>

### Desolation and Dreams

In July 1940 a decision was reached between the British and Australian governments to send to Australia some 2700 European refugees who had been arrested and interned as 'enemy aliens' in England. The 'Scandal of the *Dunera*', as this war-time transportation episode became known, brought to Australia many men whose qualifications and vigorous intelligence irrevocably altered and radically improved the quality and progress of its intellectual and cultural condition. Just as émigrés in London assisted in internationalizing British academic institutions, and America's

<sup>425</sup> Britain, *Fabianism and culture*, p.3.

<sup>426</sup> Gay, *Weimar culture*, p. 145.

<sup>427</sup> Robert D. Fitzgerald, 'An attitude to modern poetry', *Southerly*, (no.3, 1948), 155.

head-hunting of Europe's most important cultural and scientific intelligentsia greatly enhanced that country's standards and fortunes, so the arrival in Australia of a group of learned men and women created a new cultural and intellectual platform.

After the trauma of imprisonment and the ship journey, the *Dunera* prisoners were herded to successive internment camps in rural New South Wales and Victoria.<sup>428</sup> One of the younger men declared that 'Hay must be the nearest thing to Hell'.<sup>429</sup> The isolation and arid conditions, 'no grass, no shade, no green thing, a wilderness of blowing dust', reduced many to a Kafkaesque state that carried them through searing temperatures of 110° Fahrenheit (43°C) and choking dust storms.<sup>430</sup> The trauma of transferal and the loss of human dignity had been considerable for these men, and many experienced a psychological malaise for which there was little or no amelioration. Others exorcised their malingering nightmares through their respective professional mediums. The young artist Erwin Fabian captured this sense of despair through his art. The titles of his prints and gouaches bear testament not just to the state of being, but to the Surrealist impulses that had infiltrated most European artistic movements — 'Beast-like Creature leading a Group of Anthropomorphic Figures' or 'Sleepers in Landscape'.<sup>431</sup> The German artist and Bauhaus educationalist Ludvig Hirschfeld-Mack's woodcut 'Desolation' remains a poignant image of the Europeans' confrontation with the unknown, both in terms of the psychological and the physical reality.<sup>432</sup> (plates 25 & 26)

At the time of their arrest in England many of these men had been permitted to pack a few possessions. On board the *Dunera* their suitcases were confiscated and

<sup>428</sup> See Pearl, *Dunera scandal* and Paul Bartrop R. Bartrop and Gabrielle Eisen (eds.), *The Dunera Affair, a documentary resource book*, Melbourne, Schwartz & Wilkinson and the Jewish Museum, 1990, for accounts of the internment of the *Dunera* refugees.

<sup>429</sup> Felix Werder, interview, 19 September 2001. Werder and his father were arrested and interned in London. Both were sent to Australia on the *Dunera*.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid. See Pearl, *Dunera scandal* p. 97.

<sup>431</sup> Erwin Fabian escaped from Berlin to London in 1938 until his arrest and deportation to Australia on the *Dunera*. For an account of Fabian's life and career see *Max und Erwin Fabian, Berlin - London - Melbourne*, exhibition catalogue, Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin, 2000.

<sup>432</sup> The change of name from Hirschfeld to Hirschfeld-Mack is explained by his sister, Lotte Ackerman, in a letter to Burke, 17 July 1973, UMA/BP: 'Ludvig added the name Mack to the name Hirshfeld as is often the case with artists. 'Mack' is the maiden name of our mother Clara ... the family Mack is of good Frankfurt stock'.



pilfered by the British soldiers. Erwin Fabian recently recounted his journey on the *Dunera*:

Arrival on the ship was my first encounter with brutality... the soldiers told us to empty all of our pockets and put the contents on the table. Then they collected whatever they wanted ... by the time we reached the Atlantic rumours about going to Canada or Australia didn't really mean much because we were concerned with trying to accommodate ourselves to the conditions on the ship. We were ordered above from time to time, to half-run round the deck once or twice, and then we were locked up again down below. On those enforced walks we saw that our suitcases had been piled up on deck, out of reach. The troops opened the suitcases with their bayonets and examined the contents; many things were thrown overboard, to the distress of some of the elderly refugees who saw their precious papers blowing about.<sup>433</sup>

The young art historian Franz Philipp's suitcase had miraculously survived since his arrest in Vienna in 1938, and his imprisonment in Dachau, the dangerous journey across Europe to England, and the voyage on the *Dunera* to Australia. Its contents, which included his unfinished doctoral thesis, academic notes, beautiful sepia photographs of Italian mannerist portraits and some books, including the complete works of the Austrian poet Friedrich Hölderlin, would become for him a source of renewal.<sup>434</sup>

Indeed, wherever Jewish scholars were relocated during the war, and no matter how bad conditions were, a collective intellectual strength emerged and they set up centres of learning as quickly as they could.<sup>435</sup> Interned intellectuals rallied to create the camp universities, called at Tatura *Collegium Taturense*,<sup>436</sup> where lectures and concerts were given, the content aspiring to what they had experienced in European universities or academies. The Kantian philosophy of freedom, that of the 'ideal of rationality and the humanist view of man as a free and cultivated individual, living as a

<sup>433</sup> Max and Erwin Fabian, p.130.

<sup>434</sup> June Philipp, interview, 10 May 2001. Philipp's suitcase was rarely opened, and was relegated like some ancient continent to a far corner of his consciousness. Philipp's copy of Hölderlin's *Samtliche Werke*, contains the inscription: F.A.Philipp Wien 1937. When Philipp died in 1970, his widow, Dr June Philipp, gave this book to Ursula Hoff, who inscribed her name and the words 'in the year of Franz's death 1970.' In Patrick McCaughey's recent autobiography, *The bright shapes and the true names: a memoir*, Melbourne, Text, 2003, he incorrectly states that Philipp arrived on the *Dunera* just before the war.

<sup>435</sup> Margaret Beadman, interview, Australian War Memorial, 27 February 2002.

<sup>436</sup> Pearl, p.177.

citizen in the community of humanity' surged in detention.<sup>437</sup> Many utilised the precious contents of those suitcases that survived and created a cultural and intellectual environment that paid homage to their past. Musical instruments, photographs, poems, lectures and books — in Erwin Fabian's case a sketching pad which had belonged to his father, a prominent Berlin artist, and his own paint brushes and watercolours — became tools with which to carve away the time.<sup>438</sup> Ernst Kitzinger, an art historian, gave lectures on sixteenth century iconography, Franz Philipp lectured on the history of art, Gerd Buchdahl 'gave philosophy lectures, reading from sections on Plato and Aristotle'.<sup>439</sup> Lessons were given in English, French, Chinese, classical Hebrew and many other languages, in mathematics, philosophy, politics, art, anthropology, inorganic chemistry and German poetry.<sup>440</sup> Hein Heckroth had a circle of young artists, including Erwin Fabian and Klaus Friedeberger, and 'encouraged artistic activities'. Ludvig Hirshfeld-Mack 'talked about colour theory' and played 'classical airs and folk tunes from instruments he had constructed, such as a huge xylophone from odd bits of timber, laboriously tuning each note with his pocket knife. He had also made an orchestra of wooden whistles'.<sup>441</sup>

In 1940, the Australian expatriate artist Stella Bowen, who was resident in England, wrote to a relation in Australia asking a favour for her friend Ludvig Hirshfeld, who had just been sent out on the *Dunera*. She wrote:

... he was category 'C'... and violently anti-nazi ... he came to England about four years ago, in disgust for the Hitler regime, he doesn't count as a 'refugee' because he was not forced to fly. He is an educationalist whose chief job is teaching all sorts of handicrafts, including making pipes and other musical instruments, drawing painting, carving and making constructions of all sorts. He is a real Pied Piper with children, and gets them to make all their own music and their own toys ... He had a wonderful position under Gropius at the Bauhaus at Weimar, which as you perhaps know was a famous educational experiment of pre-Hitler days... Gropius is now in America, honoured and successful, and the bitterest part of Hirschfeld's fate is that everything was being arranged for him to join Gropius there at Black Mountain College, when he was interned here.

<sup>437</sup> Lipton, *Ernst Cassirer*, pp.44–5.

<sup>438</sup> *Max und Erwin Fabian*, p.130.

<sup>439</sup> Pearl, p.39.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid*, p.78.

<sup>441</sup> *Max und Erwin Fabian*, p.131; Pearl, p.118.

Hirshfeld is a person you would certainly like. He is very personable, forty-five, but looks younger...He is an extraordinarily innocent kind of person, by nature quite non-political, interested only in the creative arts, accustomed to poverty.... but with great personal dignity and utterly trustworthy...p.s. Painting materials and reading matter would be what Mack would want most. Forgive me if this seems an awful imposition! Here we are so surrounded by unhappy cases that you, far away and still outside bombing range appear singularly blessed!<sup>442</sup>

Sympathetic Australians and the Australian Students Christian Movement<sup>443</sup> meant that the internees were promptly sent books, typewriters, technical magazines, clothing, tools, coffee, soap, razor blades, pencils and boot polish — some of the last commandeered by Erwin Fabian and thinned with methylated spirits in order to print his monotypes.

While internment of anti-Nazi Germans was a symptom of 'the madness of war', these men applied their will and intellect to fill the void and prepare themselves for a new life after their release. Indeed, acknowledgment of the real scholarship of some of the internees resulted in Ludvig Hirshfeld-Mack's release in March 1942 and his appointment as the art master at Geelong Grammar.<sup>444</sup> Another eminent German, Dr Leonhard Adam, who had been deported with his brother Manfred on the *Dunera*, was released in 1942 and appointed to a position in anthropology in the History Department at the University of Melbourne. At the time of his deportation from England, Penguin Books had just published his authoritative book *Primitive Art*. He had been working on a second edition in the camp when he was released from internment. Born in Berlin in 1891, and part Jewish, Adam had studied ethnology, economics, law and Sinology at the University and Oriental Seminary of Berlin. Eventually he had become a Chief Judge, a Reader in Primitive Law at the Institute of Foreign Laws, and had taught comparative law and anthropology at German and British universities. 'The anti-Semitism of the Nazis led to Adam's dismissal from all

<sup>442</sup> Stella Bowen to Kathleen [unidentified recipient], 3 September 1940, photocopy of letter supplied by Dr Cathy Speck, original in possession of the family of Stella Bowen, Adelaide. After training and enlisting in the First World War, Ludvig moved to Weimar where his sister worked in administration at the Bauhaus: 'Ludvig was the soul of the Bauhaus festivals. He played his accordion and the dancers followed their own steps rather than the traditional rules'. Lotte Ackerman to Burke, 17 July 1973, UMA/BP.

<sup>443</sup> Pearl, p.179.

<sup>444</sup> See Daniel Thomas, 'Hirschfeld-Mack', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no.4, 1993), 518–520.

official positions in Germany in 1933' and he escaped to England where he became a staff member of the Colonial Department of Education at the University of London.<sup>445</sup>

At the University of Melbourne, under the supervision of Max Crawford, he was to research stone usage among Australian Aborigines.<sup>446</sup> Adam began to collect, gather and swap significant ethnographical material and continued building the collection of indigenous artifacts from many local, national and international cultures for the University of Melbourne's collection.<sup>447</sup> In 1943 the National Gallery and the National Museum of Victoria hosted Adam's 'Primitive Art Exhibition', throwing an important focus on indigenous culture that had hitherto been regarded in Australia as ostensibly sub-cultural. Daryl Lindsay declared that, 'By exhibiting Aboriginal material amongst world-wide examples of 'primitive art', Adam enhanced the profile of Australian Aboriginal art'<sup>448</sup> as well as stimulating interest amongst artists and art critics. In 1947 Adam was appointed a lecturer in the History Department, and also gave lectures for the Faculty of Law and the new Fine Arts Department on primitive art.<sup>449</sup> His choice to stay in Australia was of immense importance to the development of anthropological history and Australia's reputation within this field.

### Making Connections

September 1941 saw the conservative Menzies government replaced by Labor's John Curtin and the implementation of new approaches to the war and post-war reconstruction. After the Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbor, a new nationalism

<sup>445</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>446</sup> A friend of Adam's, Malinowski, had written to Lady Masson, the wife of the Professor of Chemistry at the University of Melbourne. Lady Masson with Margaret Holmes 'yanked him [Adam] out of the camp'. See Pearl, p.80.

<sup>447</sup> By 1947 some 1200 specimens had been collected which, Adam insisted, should be used as a teaching collection for students of history, anthropology and fine arts.

<sup>448</sup> Clements, *Migrating objects*, pp.19 and 22.

<sup>449</sup> Francesca Clements, *Migrating objects and exiled identities: Leonhard Adam in Melbourne*, Post-graduate Diploma of Art thesis, University of Melbourne, 1998, p.3.

emerged, one where partnerships and allegiance moved away from 'the British lion' towards the United States of America. But this transition produced a certain vulnerability as the nation questioned its re-ordered position internationally. In terms of employment however, post-war Australia was propitious for emigrants to engage with a nation desperately needing a greatly increased population and a skilled one at that. By the late 1940s the Labor government under Prime Minister Joseph Chifley had agreed to an enlarged immigration policy — albeit one that was still restricted to white Europeans. This brought with it a sense of incursion into ownership and labour displacement by outsiders, particularly highly skilled Europeans. Emigrés and refugees — apart from elite intellectuals — experienced opprobrious social conditions that further reinforced their 'accustomed ways' and created ethnically defined cultural compartments in certain suburbs, specific streets or outer regional areas.<sup>450</sup>

In 1942 many of the interned aliens were transferred into the Military Labor Forces where they worked either at the Melbourne docks or at rail termini. Several of the younger men were able to enroll in university courses, including Franz Philipp, who spent most of this period in Melbourne. Philipp was a brilliant student who laboured during the day and attended evening history lectures.<sup>451</sup> His recent tragic experiences would have elicited compassion from university teachers, such as the philosopher George Paul and the historians Kathleen Fitzpatrick and Max Crawford. Between Paul's 'Cambridge positivism', Fitzpatrick's moral humanitarianism, and Crawford's 'hybrid form of knowledge that combined a new-found though qualified idealism with an older dialectical materialism',<sup>452</sup> Philipp found an academic atmosphere of friendship and intellectual support he had not experienced — apart from the interment 'camp university' — for many years. Philipp was discharged from the Australian Military Forces in February 1946, naturalised some fifteen weeks later and

<sup>450</sup> See Raymond Gaita, *Romulus, my father*, Melbourne, Text Publishing, 1998. The Bonegilla migrant camp in north-eastern Victoria provided farmers and government projects with European labour. The café Petruschka in Little Collins Street, Fasiolis and the Latin and the Victoria Hotel in Little Collins Street were popular with émigrés, artists and the intelligentsia. See Boyd, *Australian ugliness*, p.63. Hal Porter, *The paper chase*, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1980, pp.92–102, gives a bawdy portrayal of inner city café life and Alister Kershaw, *Hey days: memories and glimpses of Melbourne bohemia, 1937–1947*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1991, pp.1–2.

<sup>451</sup> Anderson, 'Franz Philipp', pp.601–2.

<sup>452</sup> Robert Dare, 'The Retreat from Science', in Stuart MacIntyre and Peter McPhee (eds), *Max Crawford's School of History*, Melbourne, History Department, University of Melbourne, 2000, p.34.

— as the top student in History, with a First Class Honours — was awarded The Dwight Prize and the Wilson Scholarship. In 1947 Crawford, the Professor of History, appointed Philipp as a senior tutor in his department and Joseph Burke asked him to assist with selecting texts, slides and books for a new art history library. In 1948 Burke employed Philipp as a lecturer and tutor and by 1950 he was appointed permanently to the new Department of Fine Arts.<sup>453</sup>

Exiles generally give more than they take from their adopted homeland, and this was accentuated in Australia primarily because that country lacked many of the resources that the Europeans offered. A number of *Dunera* men remained in Melbourne after their demobilisation from the armed forces, and became successful professionals. Within the fine arts several deserve acknowledgement. Berlin born Felix Werder associated with the artists Noel Counihan, Vic O'Conner and Yosl Bergner. From 1959 to 1977 he was the *Age* music critic and advocated a more liberalised music climate, pressing for a greater modernist musical repertoire both on radio and in live performance. He taught comparative arts at the Council of Adult Education for almost forty years and continued to challenge artists and intellectuals for a greater experimentalism. Peter Herbst completed a Master of Arts at Melbourne and in 1963 became Professor of Philosophy at the Australian National University. In 1944 Herbst became a business partner with Arthur Boyd and John Perceval in the 'Arthur Merric Boyd Pottery', which produced and sold from a shop at Murrumbeena 'utilitarian ware to supply a post-war demand recognised by the Ministry of Labour and National Service'.<sup>454</sup> Erwin Fabian established a bilateral career in the fine and graphic arts, living between London and Melbourne. In 1943, as a private in the Eighth Australian Employment Company, Fabian exhibited his monotypes and drawings in a travelling exhibition of soldiers' art organised by the army and the Red Cross. His monotype *Showerbath in Camp*, 1942, was purchased by Daryl Lindsay for the National Gallery of Victoria in 1944. Klaus Friedeberger, after his 'demobbing' from the army, often visited the print room at the National Gallery of Victoria, where Hoff introduced him to the Blake watercolours and other important European prints. From this they

<sup>453</sup> Anderson, 'Franz Philipp', p.602.

<sup>454</sup> Patricia Dobrez and Peter Herbst, *The art of the Boyds: generations of artistic achievement*, Sydney, Bay Books, 1990, p.96.

established a long friendship. Friedeberger also had contact with John Reed through the Contemporary Arts Society. After a period Friedeberger moved to Sydney and studied art at the East Sydney Technical School under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme and became friendly with Sidney and Cynthia Nolan, Guy Warren, Tony Tuckson, Oliffe Richmond and Elizabeth Rooney. He left Australia in 1950 and settled in London, where he taught art and exhibited at various galleries including Annely Juda's 'Hamilton Galleries' in 1963.<sup>455</sup>

The architect Frederick Romberg arrived independently in Australia in 1939. He had been a student of Walter Gropius at the *Eidgenoessische Technische Hochschule* in Zurich. Employed by the Melbourne architectural firm, Stephenson and Turner, Romberg established a reputation along with other refugee architects Ernst Fooks, Fritz Janeba and Kurt Popper as a leading exponent of the European modern or international style, and influenced a generation of Australian architects such as Robin Boyd, Peter MacIntyre, Richard Berryman and Roy Grounds.<sup>456</sup>

The impact of two European artists, Yosl Bergner and Danila Vassilieff — a Cossak who is discussed later — arrived pre-war, was profound. Their 'intensely new and purposeful' expressionist paintings encouraged a greater freedom of form, content and vitality amongst other artists, particularly those associated with the Contemporary Artists Society. Albert Tucker claimed:

The very presence of Vassilieff and Bergner gave me a feeling of confidence.... Anyone who had been to Europe was an extraordinary figure. We hardly believed that Europe was a real place. In fact we had a kind of cultural schizophrenia in which we would alternate between fantasy and reality. At times Australia was reality and Europe was fantasy; and then when you felt pressure from events, or books or paintings, Europe would suddenly become reality and Australia would become fantasy.<sup>457</sup>

<sup>455</sup> Friedeberger interview 24 May 2002.

<sup>456</sup> Conrad Haman, 'Frederick Romberg and the problem of European authenticity' in Roger Butler (ed.), *The Europeans: émigré artists in Australia, 1930–1960*, Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, 1997, pp.37–8; telephone conversation with Pat Berryman.

<sup>457</sup> James Mollison and Nicholas Bonham, *Albert Tucker*, Melbourne, Macmillan and the Australian National Gallery, 1982, pp.23–4.

Bergner, a young Jewish émigré, had spent two months in Paris where he was 'infected with the germ of modernism',<sup>458</sup> before continuing on to Australia in 1937. He became closely associated with several of Melbourne's Jewish intellectuals, such as Judah Waten and Pinchas Goldar, members of the Communist Party as well as the young avant-garde artists who met at the violin maker Bill Dolphin's studio. These included Arthur Boyd, Sidney Nolan, Albert Tucker, John Perceval, Noel Counihan, Vic O'Connor, James Wrigley, George Luke and Danila Vassilieff.<sup>459</sup> Both Bergner's and Vassilieff's art brought attention to the streets of inner Melbourne, its markets and its urban life as well as a rare insight into the dispossessed, recording the melancholic poverty and the inequality of the working classes and the urban Aborigines. Their art was full of compassion and gave an image to the Australian social conscience, immediately appealing to the Social Realist and communist artists concerned with humanitarian problems of the time. When war was declared, Bergner was categorised as an 'alien' and transferred to Tocumwal with the Military Labour Corps. By 1947, as the cultural climate moved into its post-war reconstructive phase, Bergner felt the need for change and left for Paris.<sup>460</sup>

The photographer Wolfgang Sievers, the graphic designer Gert Selheim, and the furniture designers and manufacturers Schulim Krimper, Fred Lowen and Ernst Rodeck (the last two, *Dunera* men) were immediately active in the commercial world of Melbourne. Erwin Rado was a first rate concert pianist who arrived in Melbourne in 1939. After the war, he accompanied *lieder* singers on ABC radio, and later became the dominant figure in the Melbourne Film Festival.<sup>461</sup> The ballet impresario Edouard Borovansky, the art critic and connoisseur Gino Nibbi, and the sculptors Karl Duldig, Andor Meszaros and Tina Wentscher established careers in the fine arts. In Sydney, Desiderus Orban and Sali Hermann were amongst the more important artists arriving in that city in 1939, and the Viennese trained Richard Goldnar established *Musica Viva* in 1945. George Bergner, who had studied art history at the University of Vienna, was

<sup>458</sup> Richard Haese, 'Images of loss: the Australian years of Yosl Bergner' *Yosl Bergner: a retrospective exhibition*, Banyule Gallery, September – December 1985, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1985, p.9.

<sup>459</sup> June Helmer, 'Yosl Bergner' in *ibid*, p.21.

<sup>460</sup> *Ibid*, p.22

<sup>461</sup> Bob Garlick interview 6 August 1999.



an important influence on Bernard Smith, while Karl and Gertrude Langer initiated innovative programmes of cultural interest in Brisbane.

### Melbourne's Europeanisation

Hegel, according to Jack Lindsay, saw 'alienation as simply a necessary phase of the spirit's progress of objectifying and realizing itself.'<sup>462</sup> Julia Kristeva has dialectically interpreted alienation as when the 'Spirit becomes foreign to itself', and the laws of 'actuality and pure consciousness start facing each other'.<sup>463</sup> For two young continental art historians and intellectuals, Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp, their separate journeys to Australia were primarily ones of alienation. Stefan Zweig, the Austrian exile, had observed that 'the homeless man becomes free in a new sense' and that the refugee's passage of translocation also proposed an opportunity of emancipation.<sup>464</sup> This was certainly the case for Hoff, who found Australia liberating after what had been a highly tense existence between German high cultural ideals, English quasi-socialist society and Judaic marginalisation. As a foreigner she was a transient citizen, but one with an elite pedigree offering safety within a new 'stateless' position. Nevertheless, a great deal depended upon how the social and cultural organizations of the host country would define her inclusion.

For Franz Philipp, once he had been 'de-mobbed', the focus moved towards the introspective singularity of the foreigner, and the process of acclimatization of a new intellectual field. Ursula Hoff, on the other hand, had an introduction into Melbourne's educational precinct with a position at a university college, but it is debatable whether she ever fully emerged from an introspective silence usually associated with an outsider. Their resilience and strength as human beings, particularly in regard to their

<sup>462</sup> Jack Lindsay, 'The alienated Australian intellectual', *Meanjin quarterly*, xxii (no.1, 1963), 48.

<sup>463</sup> Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to ourselves*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez, New York, Columbia University Press, 1991, p.144.

<sup>464</sup> Zweig, *World of yesterday*, p.v.

disempowerment as individuals and their deracination *en mass*, immediately raised questions concerning their cultural identity. How would they re-create themselves both personally and professionally within a new and alien society?

Hoff had almost two months to ponder this when on 31 October 1939, one month after the Second World War had begun, she boarded the emigrant liner the *Orcades*, recently given a 'battleship grey' coat of paint. The ship left the port of Tilbury in London, with all the port-holes and windows darkened and activity confined mainly below deck. It navigated a saw-tooth route through the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean avoiding enemy submarines. Not until the boat had moved out of enemy territory was the order given to take down the black curtains covering all the windows. A cry swelled up through the decks as all the passengers celebrated their safety.<sup>465</sup> (Plate 27)

In Melbourne, a full-time position as secretary at the University Women's College of the University of Melbourne awaited Hoff, but she wondered what this exile would be like.<sup>466</sup> The large southern continent had little profile, yet she had known since 1936 that a buyer (Randall Davies) for the National Gallery in Melbourne had been successful in bidding for some of the excellent old master drawings at the Oppenheimer auction in London, and she would have received some account of the city and its culture from the principal of the University Women's College, Dr Greta Hort. Hort was a worldly thinker and a woman of strong character. Born in Denmark she had an MA from Copenhagen University and a Ph.D. in Moral Sciences and English from Cambridge, and had tutored at Girton College, Cambridge. At only thirty-four years of age, she combined vitality and enthusiasm, and had 'mapped out her whole recent career with a post in a women's college deliberately in view'.<sup>467</sup> Hoff's more recent friendship with Howard Ashton in London had given further

<sup>465</sup> Hoff, interview, 18 November 1999.

<sup>466</sup> Hoff diary 3 June 1939, HP.

<sup>467</sup> Hort instituted a modern regime that 'allowed her students freedom to come and go and to have men and women friends to visit them in their rooms'. This was considered controversial especially by members of the Janet Clarke Hall and St. Mary's College at the University of Melbourne. Many students who came under her guidance remembered the trust which she placed in them and their empowerment as individuals. Rosemary Derham, 'The Life of Greta Hort', 1987, unpublished notes, p.5, University College Archives.

reassurances about the country, its culture, climate and inhabitants.<sup>468</sup> Her antipodean destination resulted as much from needing to get as far removed from the epicentre of the war in Europe and England as the necessity for finding full-time employment.<sup>469</sup> Unlike other German or Austrian refugees who came to Australia in 1939–40, Hoff had arrived in Melbourne on 23 December 1939 in a relatively unique position with her British nationality and was therefore considered an émigré. Nevertheless, she was perceived as a middle class German by every other virtue and manner.

Hoff soon found her position as secretary of a university college frustrating and unsuited to her professional training, but remained in the position as her passage to Australia had been sponsored by the Women's College.<sup>470</sup> (plate 28) By 1940 a number of German and Austrian scholars had been employed at the University, and it is probable that Kathleen Fitzpatrick of the History Department and Greta Hort may have acted as linchpins in connecting certain individuals with their appropriate spheres of interest. Hort's reputation as a 'discerning person.... interested in people that interested her' reveals a propensity for selective favouritism, and she was supportive of Hoff's interests.<sup>471</sup> When the Viennese scholar Hans Pollack, Daryl Lindsay's brother-in-law, was employed by the University as a part-time tutor in German in 1940,<sup>472</sup> he may have encountered Hort, and it is reasonable to speculate that it was through this connection that Pollack met Ursula Hoff. Naturally, he would have informed his brother-in-law of the young art historian who was working as a secretary at the University Women's College, and Daryl Lindsay, recently appointed as the Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, wasted no time in contacting Hoff.<sup>473</sup> Hoff, who had provided discussion groups on art at the College,<sup>474</sup> felt enormous relief when Lindsay asked her to participate in a series of lunchtime lectures at the National Gallery.

<sup>468</sup> Howard Ashton, the son of Julian Rossi Ashton, was a painter, art critic for the *Argus* and editor of the Sydney paper the *Sun*. Hoff became friendly with him in London in the late 1930s. HP/ Private.

<sup>469</sup> Hoff, interview, 18 November 1999.

<sup>470</sup> Hoff to author, notes, nd. Hoff's British passport enabled her to work immediately and she was never officially regarded as an alien immigrant.

<sup>471</sup> Rosemary Derham, private notes on 'The life of Greta Hort', 1987, WCA.

<sup>472</sup> NLA/CPP/MS. 8891.

<sup>473</sup> Hoff, interview, 29 February 1999. Hoff remembers being invited to lunch with Lindsay and his wife Joan at the Lyceum Club, discussing art, the British Museum, favourite works of art and life in Europe.

<sup>474</sup> University Women's College, Annual Report, August 1944, p.3.

Shortly after this Lindsay offered her the position of Assistant Keeper of Prints, an appointment that dramatically reshaped her future and her identity.

John Docker has written that Melbourne intellectuals of this period, such as Manning Clark, Geoffrey Serle, Vance Palmer and C. B. Christesen, had felt it was their duty and privilege to act as 'social activists on behalf of the social democratic spirit of Australia's past' and to bring 'to Australia European standards of sophistication and relevance'.<sup>475</sup> Hoff's contact was at first with intellectuals associated with the Women's College such as Dr Georgina Sweet<sup>476</sup> and Evelyne Syme.<sup>477</sup> Greta Hort, herself a newly arrived émigré understood Hoff's background and the alienation that she or any cultured, worldly and well educated person would experience under the migrational circumstances of the Second World War. Gradually Hoff encountered a select circle of women, many of whom were members of the Lyceum Club and its intellectual inner sanctum, the Catalyst Club. Through friendships with women such as Margaret Blackwood, a senior associate at the University of Melbourne in Botany, or the architects Ellison Harvie and Molly Turner Shaw, and the artists Polly Hurry, Evelyne Syme, Ethel Spowers and Helen Ogilvie, Hoff found herself engaged in enjoyable social and intellectual functions.<sup>478</sup> The Lyceum, Alexandra and Catalyst Clubs were meeting places strictly for women, and were seen at the time as being socially progressive as well as important and supportive venues for professional and middle-class women. The Catalyst Club essentially consisted of the intellectual elite and met at the Collins Street premises of the Lyceum Club, where rigorous discussions centred on contemporary Fabian ideas and issues of the left.<sup>479</sup> In 1941 Ursula Hoff was asked to present a paper to the Catalysts, 'Charles

<sup>475</sup> Docker, p.ix.

<sup>476</sup> Georgina Sweet was the Deputy President of the Women's College of the University of Melbourne.

<sup>477</sup> Syme was an artist/printmaker and a 'bluestocking'. Her lifelong interest in womens education saw her involved with the fundraising and management of the University Women's College. She was the daughter of David Syme, proprietor of the *Age*.

<sup>478</sup> Hoff, interview, 26 August 1999.

<sup>479</sup> Stephen Coppel, interview, 14 July 1999. Papers given at the Catalyst Club's monthly meetings included one by Mrs Wheaton in 1933, 'Events in Germany', 'That Museum Fatigue' by an unidentified speaker and, in 1936, Mary Cecil Allen gave a paper titled 'Can anyone paint?' On successive visits to Australia Allen gave further papers at the Catalyst Club, including 'Paul Klee, art and inspiration' in 1950. In 1960 she presented 'Action painting in America'. SLV, The Catalyst Papers.

I, Patron of Artists', which she had drawn from her book of the same title then being published in London. Shortly after this she was invited to become a member.<sup>480</sup>

Hoff may have accompanied Marjorie Coppel,<sup>481</sup> the honorary secretary of the Victorian International Refugee Emergency Committee (VIREC), on at least one occasion to visit prisoners at the Tatura internment camp on the Victorian and New South Wales border. Hoff recalled driving to this camp and talking through the barbed wire fence to several internees, encountering Franz Philipp, Peter Herbst and Gerd Buchdahl for the first time. This meeting was 'a crossroad of two othernesses... a mutual recognition',<sup>482</sup> and an opportunity for shared language and, in the case of Franz Philipp, the delight at finding another art historian. It was also a contact which helped the refugees form networks that influenced their future. On another occasion the artists Arthur Boyd and John Perceval, then enlisted in the Australian Army, met Peter Herbst, Franz Philipp, Gerd and Hans Buchdahl at the Tocumwal rail terminus where the 'refugees' were loading goods.<sup>483</sup> Friendships were formed from these encounters that enabled the exchange of intellectual material and cultural values, and helped to ease the refugees' sense of isolation.

In addition to this isolation, anti-Semitic and anti-German attitudes further hindered assimilation of many refugees. Established Jewish communities in Melbourne worried that new Jewish immigrants might destabilise their hard-fought position within Melbourne's religious and business worlds, as well as increase the prevailing anti-Semitism. In 1938 immigration regulations reportedly stated that 'non-Jewish refugees needed £200 for a landing permit: Jews required £1000'.<sup>484</sup> There is evidence that this was never implemented, and was clearly a propagandist deterrent to Jews wishing to emigrate to Australia. Many of the naturalised 'new citizens' suffered physical and psychological discrimination. 'Refos' walking along the streets of Melbourne or speaking in public in their native tongue encountered physical attacks and abuse —

<sup>480</sup> Hoff, interview, 26 August 1999.

<sup>481</sup> She was the wife of Judge Coppel.

<sup>482</sup> Kristeva, *Strangers to ourselves*, p.11.

<sup>483</sup> June Philipp, interview, 10 May 2001.

<sup>484</sup> Don Watson, *Brian Fitzpatrick: a radical life*, Sydney, Hale & Ironmonger, 1979, p.87. John McEwan also stated that 'some discrimination was necessary to prevent the growth of anti-Semitism in Australia', *ibid*, p.87.

'Why don't you bastards go back to England'.<sup>485</sup> European refugees were officially categorised as 'enemy aliens' and had to report daily or weekly to the police and were usually confined to their suburbs. The Italian brothers Claudio and Orlando Alcorso were suspected of holding subversive views and were interned along with many other Italians for some trifling or unfounded reason.<sup>486</sup> During this time, in order to be exempted from arrest, German scientists and academics employed in university departments had to make applications to the Military Intelligence authority.<sup>487</sup> The German photographer Wolfgang Sievers purportedly avoided internment after his friend Dermot Casey (the brother of the Australian Minister in Washington, Richard Casey) intervened on his behalf. Siever's crime had been sartorial, for Sir Russell Grimwade had decided that a genuine refugee could not possibly own a quality tailored suit, concluding that Sievers was 'in the pay of the Nazis and was a spy', and therefore reported him accordingly.<sup>488</sup>

When Marion and Hans Pollack (Daryl Lindsay's sister-in-law and her Viennese Jewish husband) arrived in Melbourne in 1941 they encountered 'disappointments, humiliation, vexation and delays': Marion Pollack's view of life in Australia and particularly Melbourne was unfavorable, even though her husband had been offered a job at the University of Melbourne in the German Department:

A former geologist whom I knew was employed as a cleaner in an animal shop. A former lawyer was temporary night porter at a dance hall.... It did not take long to realize that Australia does not go out of its way to help newcomers, whoever they are ... if, out of humanity, the employer does take on a refugee, the foreigner has to contend with the possible resentment and jealousy of fellow employees, who may claim that 'one of our own people' should get the job.... musicians are boycotted by the Musicians Union, doctors by the Doctors union... Life here is set in fixed forms, and activities are guided along lines rigidly laid down according to Trade Union plans ... an

<sup>485</sup> Ibid; Felix Werder, interview. September 2001.

<sup>486</sup> Albert Ullin, interview, December 2002. Claudio Alcorso became a successful textile manufacturer, and like the German émigré Gerhard Herbst, believed that art should be incorporated into industry — 'a quintessential European modernist philosophy.' See Butler (ed), *The Europeans*, p.156 and Stephen Castles, Caroline Alcorso, Gaetano Rando, Ellie Vasta (eds), *Italians in Australia: culture and community in a changing society*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1992.

<sup>487</sup> 'Alien internees as academics at the Melbourne University', UMA/6. 2.1942/Central Administration Files, 312.

<sup>488</sup> Wolfgang Sievers, interview, 2004; 'A modern view', public talk, SLV, 27 April 2004, notes by author. With the reputation as a brilliant photographer, Grimwade wanted to commission Sievers to photograph gum leaves and native Australian timbers.

isolated society in an isolated continent has set its own standard and made its own rules.<sup>489</sup>

Anti-Semitic sentiment was launched from the top as well. Lionel Lindsay and his redoubtable sympathisers repeatedly proclaimed the same isolationist convictions they had held since the 1920s. Australian culture, they claimed, must be saved from 'all the patent [modern] art theories in which are exposed, stark and coverless, the degeneration of the creative instinct in art.'<sup>490</sup> Lindsay's ally, J. S. MacDonald, the Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, publicly denounced modern art when he attacked the post-impressionist works in the 1939 *Herald* exhibition as 'the product of degenerates and perverts.'<sup>491</sup> Lindsay further attacked what he perceived to be the evils of modernism in *Addled Art*, published in Sydney in 1942.<sup>492</sup> Not only did Lindsay and MacDonald broadcast their class-based views of art and civilization, but their 'blockade against modernism' and the 'suppression of movements' in Australia was a moral and racist exercise that devalued Australia's national image.<sup>493</sup>

Lionel Lindsay's anti-Semitism took on a disproportionately alarming public face through the publication of his *Addled Art*. This was not just an extraordinary attack on European Jews operating in the international art world, but was a warning to those manipulating the local scene as well.<sup>494</sup> Lindsay's voice, though declining in efficacy and authority when it came to modern art, could still nevertheless attract public attention and *Addled Art* sold out within one week, thus adding more racist powder to an already smoking ethnic gun. Sir Keith Murdoch's 1939 *Herald* exhibition of French and British modern art appears to have been a major trigger for Lindsay's polemical booklet, as indicated in a letter to his brother Daryl: 'Keith persists in backing this imitation of Modernism with its alien's support ... the fact that many aliens speak German particularly the Jewish who can never be trusted — is a

<sup>489</sup> Marion Pollack, journal, NLA/CPP/MS 8891, pp.276–87.

<sup>490</sup> Lionel Lindsay, 'Australian art', in Sydney Ure Smith (ed.) *The exhibition of Australian art in London, 1923*, Sydney, 1923, cited in Richard White, *Inventing Australia*, p.144.

<sup>491</sup> Humphrey McQueen, 'Jimmy's brief lives' in Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith (eds), *Australian art and architecture: essays presented to Bernard Smith*, Melbourne, OUP, 1980, p.181.

<sup>492</sup> Lionel Lindsay, *Addled art*, London, Hollis & Carter, 1946, p.18.

<sup>493</sup> McQueen, *Black swan of trespass*, p.18.

<sup>494</sup> Nancy Underhill, *Making Australian art, 1916–49: Sydney Ure Smith, patron and publisher*, Melbourne, OUP, 1991, p.170.

menace".<sup>495</sup> Lindsay claimed that his anti-Semitism arose initially from the corruption of a true national school of French painting by European avant-garde artists, many of whom were Jewish<sup>496</sup> — 'the intrusion of the Jews of the *Ecole de Paris* — up to then I had never bothered to think of them except as arrogant and humble intruders into European civilization'.<sup>497</sup>

The arrival of German Jewish art dealers in London from 1933 onwards further intensified Lindsay's hostility, particularly as this was a concern amongst the established London art dealers, artists and connoisseurs such as Harold Wright of Colnaghis, Sir Alfred Munnings, Professor Bodkin and Sir Thomas Barlow, all acquaintances of Lindsay.<sup>498</sup> Not only did these men appear to sanction the views expressed in *Addled Art* but, as Lindsay informs us, they insisted that it had 'done a service to art'.<sup>499</sup> Munnings, for example, thought that what Lindsay had written was 'pure gold', while others saw it as a 'valuable contribution to the pathology of art'.<sup>500</sup> The aggression of Hitler at this stage of the war further affected Lindsay's attitude towards the Jews, and as the diaspora gathered in intensity Lindsay's anti-Semitism similarly increased:

Don't think that I am personally anti-Semitic — just I definitely am for anti-Jewish control of the Press and Arts. Because the Jews have been so atrociously used by Hitler we don't want Australia to be run by them. I have written to Harold [Wright of Colnaghis] to get some figures about numbers of Yids in art ... Modernism, which is entirely 'Schock' art, having no sure foundation, I regard as a disintegrating factor for civilization.<sup>501</sup>

Furthermore, Lindsay believed that 'Modernism in art' was 'a freak, not a natural evolutionary growth. Its causes lie in the spirit of the age that separates this century from all others: the age of speed, sensationalism, jazz, and the insensate adoration of money'.<sup>502</sup> His entrenched traditional values were all the more hostile because of his

<sup>495</sup> Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, 6 January 1941, SLV/LFP/MS. 9424/1322-94.

<sup>496</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors* p.10.

<sup>497</sup> Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, 18 October 1949, SLV/LFP/MS 9242/1469-88.

<sup>498</sup> Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, 10 November 1946, SLV/LFP/MS. 9242/1434-68.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.11; Joanna Mendelssohn, *Lionel Lindsay: an artist and his family*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1988, pp.202-5; Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, November 1942, SLV/LFP/MS.9424/1322-94. *The Times Literary Supplement* reviewed *Addled art*.

<sup>501</sup> Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, 6 January 1941, SLV/LFP/MS. 9424/1322-94.

<sup>502</sup> Lionel Lindsay, quoted in Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.9.



cultural position, even isolation, in what Docker claims as Sydney's more poetic, organic and 'detached' aesthetic and intellectual environment. Indeed, Melbourne's serious and central cultural focus was what attracted many intellectuals and Europeans during the 1940s.<sup>503</sup>

### A Different Proposition

Lionel Lindsay's acceptance of Ursula Hoff is therefore of interest, particularly as she came to his attention when his anti-Semitism was at its most virulent — around the time of the publication of *Addled Art*. His racist polemic reflected the way many of his generation felt,<sup>504</sup> and it has to be seen in the generally perceived context that the Jews, as Hitler's bait, were victim, cause and consequence of German expansionism. It is also well known that Daryl Lindsay was extremely close to his older brother and their correspondence attests to a mutual support and respect for each other's opinions. Thus Lionel Lindsay's anti-Semitic barrage must have caused some embarrassment to his younger brother when he was recruiting Hoff into the National Gallery of Victoria. However, Daryl Lindsay decided to 'take off his gloves' and show his brother his unconditional support for Hoff — who was biologically only half Jewish and did not identify with being Jewish<sup>505</sup> — by asking her to curate an exhibition of Lionel Lindsay's Charles Keene drawings at the National Gallery of Victoria in July 1944. Writing to his brother in April 1944, Daryl was emphatic about Hoff's position:

I am purposefully leaving the arranging of all affairs to Dr Hoff who is a [very] knowledgeable young woman — even if of German Jewish origins — She worked at the British Museum and in Berlin [sic] and was born in England — a very highly cultured and highly trained woman with a fine sense of humour and the educated European's approach to food and wine...

<sup>503</sup> See Docker, *Australian intellectual elites*.

<sup>504</sup> Mendelssohn, pp.169–70.

<sup>505</sup> Hoff's father was Jewish, but her mother was German. Jewry is recognised as being carried through the bloodline of the mother, and therefore Hoff officially was not a Jew.

Anyway I always believe in the policy of putting responsibility on the people when possible as it gives them a feeling of self-confidence and they generally react to it. That's why I'm leaving the arranging of all Print Room exhibitions to her.<sup>506</sup>

When Lionel Lindsay finally met the young German art historian, he was formal and cautious. Gradually this eased as he came to know her and by mid-1944 he wrote to his brother that 'I like her very much — intelligent and a pleasure for one to meet...[particularly] anyone knowing anything about prints.'<sup>507</sup> Hoff's British citizenship further worked to her advantage, and she carefully constructed her image as a non-Jewish civilised citizen of the world, as revealed by an article in the *Age* of 19 July 1943:

Dr Ursula Hoff, who is to be appointed as assistant to the National Gallery Director, Daryl Lindsay, is the only woman in Australia to hold an art degree. She gained a doctorate of philosophy at Hamburg University for a thesis on Rembrandt. Dr Hoff who was born in England studied art on the continent and was familiar with all the leading galleries there. Before coming to Australia she worked for some time in the Courtauld Institute, the department of the history of art at the London University and in the Print Room at the British Museum. She was also associated with important private collections in England, and in London gave art lectures under the adult education scheme...Last winter she gave a series of lectures at the National Gallery and she will give another series this year. A new post will be created as a result of her appointment.<sup>508</sup>

This type of publicity ameliorated anti-Germanism and anti-Semitism towards Hoff.

Significantly, there was virtually no other young professional woman in Melbourne like her — except Greta Hort — and Daryl Lindsay conveyed his sense of excitement at his 'brilliant find' to Lionel. 'What a difference ...in having a trained colleague who knows how to go about things with the right flair for the research side of things — I've never come across it here before'.<sup>509</sup> It was rare to find anyone in Australia who had a more extensive knowledge of traditional European prints and drawings than Lionel Lindsay, and his passion for the works of Dürer and Rembrandt was well known. Hoff's curriculum vitae attested to her professional standing in the field of 'old masters' and her knowledge was clearly equal to and indeed far surpassed

<sup>506</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Lionel Lindsay, 29 April 1944, SLV/LFP/MS. 9242/432.

<sup>507</sup> Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, 1 July 1944, SLV/LFP/MS. 9242/1395-1433.

<sup>508</sup> *Age*, 19 July 1943.

<sup>509</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Lionel Lindsay, 29 April 1944, SLV/LFP/MS. 9242/432.

that of Lionel Lindsay. Her 'keen eye for the characteristics and the development of style'<sup>510</sup> was aligned to his and his respect for her as a scholar was unquestionable, 'But Hoff is a very different proposition — I not only like her, but respect her real scholarship and knowledge.'<sup>511</sup> Her personal qualities, as previously recounted by Thomas Sturge Moore — 'her knowledge is wide and exact and she is saved from pedantry by a sense of humour and an innate gentleness and persuasiveness of disposition'<sup>512</sup> — further helped to 'transcend the barriers of sex and race'.<sup>513</sup>

It is not difficult to understand the nature of Hoff's and Lindsay's intellectual affinities and shared values. Ursula Hoff had worked with Campbell Dodgson, after he had retired as Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum in 1932, and Lionel Lindsay had known Dodgson since 1926. Lindsay's most admired artist and printmaker was Albrecht Dürer, whose great engravings 'Melancholia' and 'The Knight', were in his own collection — the latter he described as 'the crowning glory of my existence'.<sup>514</sup> In a letter to Harold Wright of Colnaghis in 1940, Lindsay's iconographical interpretation of Dürer's *Knight, Death and the Devil* was militarily mythologised:

The Knight as an ideal of Christian fortitude needs no personal identification. It's the idea that I think grew slowly in Dürer's mind... In the Knight the whole Renaissance marches, and the hero is also a warrior — the Epitome of Courage disdaining Death and Hell. I feel convinced that Dürer with his delicate sense of symbol would have added some Christian attribute to the Knight if he had had a religious motive.... It is the Hero of all time.<sup>515</sup>

Lindsay's reading is understandable given the tensions building up in Europe.

Since her student days, primarily because Panofsky was a Dürer expert but also because Rembrandt had been influenced by Dürer, Ursula Hoff had taken a special

<sup>510</sup> Saxl, character reference for Ursula Hoff, 1 February 1936, WIA, General correspondence.

<sup>511</sup> Lionel Lindsay to Daryl Lindsay, 14 October 1949, SLV/LFP/MS 9242/1469–88.

<sup>512</sup> Thomas Sturge Moore, character reference for Ursula Hoff, 5 February 1936, UMA/HP/private correspondence, 1936–1974.

<sup>513</sup> Quoted in Mendelssohn, p.xi.

<sup>514</sup> Ibid, p.199.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid.

interest in this artist.<sup>516</sup> The National Gallery had acquired some significant old master drawings and prints in 1891, three of which were major engravings by Dürer, *Knight, Death and the Devil*, *Melancholia I*, and *St Jerome*.<sup>517</sup> However, it was not until Sir Thomas Barlow's collection of some 300 Dürer engravings and woodcuts had entered the National Gallery of Victoria in 1956 that she devoted several major articles to Dürer. Hoff wrote of the allegorical iconography in the 'Knight' print as 'undaunted by death and the devil, the knight pursues his path through the dark valley of this earth. His aim, the castle of virtue, appears in the far distance'.<sup>518</sup> Her formal interpretation of this particular image is understandably at variance with how it was being regaled and appropriated in Germany in the late 1930s. Albrecht Dürer's large engraving of *The Knight, Death and the Devil* of 1513, (plate 29) had become the symbolic image for German nationalism, the eternal message to the world that Hitler, who had transformed himself into the Dürer figure of the Knight, would ride victoriously through conquered lands.<sup>519</sup> In Dürer's time, this highly symbolic iconography had been interpreted in spiritual, intellectual and moral terms. This was what Erwin Panofsky had taught Hoff at the University of Hamburg.<sup>520</sup> However, Dürer's art had often carried a considerable contemporary association with nationalism, and in the German Pavilion at the 1893 Chicago International Fair, his art was used as a sensationalised visual document representative of the nationalised German hero. This was close to Lindsay's interpretation of the 'Hero of all time'. By the early twentieth century the print of 'The Knight' stirred the emotions and beliefs of many Germans towards an idealised Germany and Dürer was again used as a propagandist protagonist in German unification — '*Dürer als Führer*'. When Hitler became Chancellor of the Third Reich, the Knight on horseback was synonymous with the deification of *der Führer*, where

<sup>516</sup> Panofsky wrote *The life and art of Albrecht Dürer* in 1943 based on lectures he had given in America in 1938. He had worked on Dürer often in conjunction with Fritz Saxl at the Warburg Institute in Hamburg before 1933.

<sup>517</sup> Hoff, *The quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, iv (no.3, 1950), passim. In 1949 Hoff took these prints to London for cleaning and evaluation, but she also purchased further examples of Dürer's work.

<sup>518</sup> Hoff, 'Albrecht Dürer: the Barlow collection of prints in the National Gallery of Victoria', *Meanjin*, xvi (no.2, Winter 1957), 162.

<sup>519</sup> Paul Munch, 'Changing German perceptions of the historical role of Dürer', paper given at the Dürer Symposium, University of Melbourne, 7 August 1994.

<sup>520</sup> Panofsky, *The life and art of Albrecht Dürer*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, pp.151–2.

‘the leader is transformed into a figure of allegory: a warrior, a standard bearer, a supernatural being’.<sup>521</sup> Indeed, Lanzinger’s painting of Hitler on horseback was the sole portrait selected by Hitler for exhibition in the 1938 Great Exhibition at the Nazi’s cultural citadel, the House of German Art in Munich.<sup>522</sup> (plate 30) If Hoff was aware of Dürer in this context, she chose to appear ignorant of this tendency. What was important for her was that she could use the art of Dürer as a powerful linkage to bring her two worlds together, consolidating her scholarly role within the National Gallery while evaluating traditional German art.

By the 1940s nationalism in Australia, as in other parts of the world, was a hotly debated issue. Arch-conservatives such as Lionel Lindsay, Harold Herbert, Robert Menzies and J.S. MacDonald launched many an attack on ‘modern’ culture. The ‘Dobell case’ of 1944 typified the battle between the conservative traditionalists and the modernists — even though William Dobell considered himself an artist of the ‘classical tradition’.<sup>523</sup> Dobell had returned to Australia from Europe in 1939, having studied various European styles of art ranging from the Mannerism of El Greco to the tonal composition of Rembrandt, the social satirism of Daumier and the Post-Impressionism of Renoir and Van Gogh. His portrait of Joshua Smith in the 1943 Archibald prize dredged up more than was being argued — that of the definition of portraiture, of caricature and a ‘modern’ work of art. The issue was also about the inability of the conservatives to accommodate a rapidly changing world, one according to them that was being infected by an international modernism in art that reflected ‘a social and cultural decline’.<sup>524</sup> Dobell became the conservative’s scapegoat in a world divided by ‘constrictions, intimidations and servility of a provincial society’.<sup>525</sup>

Interestingly, it took ‘outsiders’ like Ursula Hoff and Joseph Burke to realise the value of someone like Lionel Lindsay, not as the vehement reactionary, but as a connoisseur and art collector. Throughout his career Lindsay had built up an

<sup>521</sup> Igor Golomstock, translated by Robert Chandler, *Totalitarian art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, fascist Italy and the People’s Republic of China*, London, Collins Harvill, 1990, pp.12, 187.

<sup>522</sup> Ibid, p.227.

<sup>523</sup> James Gleeson, *William Dobell: a biographical and critical study*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1981, p.136.

<sup>524</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.8.

<sup>525</sup> Bernard Smith, *Australian painting*, Melbourne, OUP, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 2001, p.264.

extraordinary collection of old master prints and other works of value. He chose to sell his collection of Keene drawings and major prints to the National Gallery of Victoria during his lifetime, and after his death in 1961 Hoff was able to make further selections from his extensive collection. These included '146 drawings, engravings, lithographs, etchings and eleven sketch books by Australian artists',<sup>526</sup> the most important work according to Hoff being a drawing by Tiepolo.<sup>527</sup> That astute collectors chose the National Gallery of Victoria to divest themselves of important works of art reveals a number of things. Apart from the Gallery having the financial means to acquire during the post-war period, it was the conjunction of Daryl Lindsay, Ursula Hoff, A.J.L. McDonnell and Joseph Burke which in many cases was responsible for attracting major benefactors both within Australia and internationally. Stephen Courtauld, the brother of Sir Samuel Courtauld, and Sir Thomas Barlow were two such generous benefactors, with Courtauld presenting gifts to the University of Melbourne and Barlow favouring the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>528</sup>

Ursula Hoff's importance to the acquisition of the Sir Thomas Barlow Collection of Dürer engravings was seminal. Barlow had visited the National Gallery of Victoria in 1949,<sup>529</sup> and found its collection was one of a 'high standard' marked by 'an atmosphere of scholarship, judgement and intelligent buying'.<sup>530</sup> This was clearly a reference to Ursula Hoff and Daryl Lindsay, and Barlow subsequently corresponded

<sup>526</sup> Lionel Lindsay wanted his own work to go to the NGV. Burke suggested that his Keene collection should be kept together and sold to the NGV, which Lindsay agreed to. Burke also suggested that the University of Melbourne should start a manuscript collection related to the fine arts including Lionel Lindsay's correspondence. There are copies of these letters in the University of Melbourne Archives. Percival Serle also donated 'a very useful collection of art catalogues from Sydney and Melbourne'. Burke to Lindsay, 8 December 1948, SLV/LFP, Ms 9104, 756-800.

<sup>527</sup> Tiepolo, *A Scene of Baptism*, wash drawing, c. 1740. See Hoff and Margaret Plant, *National Gallery of Victoria, painting, drawing, sculpture*, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1968, p.9, Colnaghi valued this work at £2,300 in 1961, Hoff to Peter Lindsay, 5 August 1961, SLV/LFP, MS. 10100/1-64. Other important works included six small woodcuts by Hans Holbein, seventy-six Charles Keene drawings and a Charles Meryon etching, *The Morgue*.

<sup>528</sup> Sir Thomas Barlow presented a wash drawing by Gainsborough in 1949, a watercolour by Turner in 1953 and in 1958 a facsimile of a prayer book designed for the Emperor Maximilian by Dürer. Samuel Courtauld presented a Turner watercolour and engravings to the University of Melbourne art collection in 1947.

<sup>529</sup> Barlow's interest in Australia extended to his friendship with Lionel and Daryl Lindsay. His son-in-law, Carl Winter was born in Melbourne and educated at Xavier and the University of Melbourne before furthering his studies at Oxford University. He became the Assistant Keeper of Engravings and Paintings at the V&A in 1931, and the director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1946. See *Who's Who in Art*, London, The Art Trade Press, 1954, pp.749-50.

<sup>530</sup> Barlow to Daryl Lindsay, 23 June 1949, quoted in Cox, p.211.

with Hoff revealing his respect for her scholarship and his pleasure at knowing her.<sup>531</sup> Barlow, whose collection was regarded as one of the finest private collection of Albrecht Dürer prints in existence and 'rivalled only by those in the Albertina in Vienna and the British Museum',<sup>532</sup> had decided to put his Dürer collection on the market in 1955. The National Gallery of Victoria was a strong contender as it had the financial resources in the Felton Bequest but also because it knew of Barlow's intention to split his collection between the British Museum and the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>533</sup> Hoff, who was on research leave in Holland, was called across to inspect the prints at Colnaghi's Bond Street rooms.<sup>534</sup> Her inspection and attention to detail was scrupulous. She noted the type of paper, the watermarks that confirmed the period in which the plates were made, the extant works, the rarity of certain prints, and the 'Collectors' marks' that revealed the important collections of the past in which they were once 'cherished for their exceptional fineness'.<sup>535</sup> Hoff concluded in her report to the Trustees that should

Melbourne acquire the Barlow collection, where it would automatically increase its number of different impressions...this fact adds to the value of the collection offered. The only way in which a student of engraving can acquire a true appreciation of fine quality is by comparing impressions that are fine with those that are excellent and with less good ones'.<sup>536</sup>

Furthermore, she stressed that this great body of Dürer's prints would 'put the Melbourne National Gallery among the major Dürer owning galleries of the world providing valuable stimulus both to the present day printmaker, the student of the history of art, the collector and the general public'.<sup>537</sup> Its acquisition was a significant coup for Melbourne and for the fine arts in Australia, particularly as 'Melbourne had always laboured under extremely difficult conditions because of its distance to London'.<sup>538</sup>

---

<sup>531</sup> Barlow to Hoff, 25 February 1951, NGV/HC. Included in this correspondence was an essay by Barlow on Dürer's *Melancholia*, which had been published by Cambridge University Press.

<sup>532</sup> A.J.L. McDonnell to the Felton Bequest Committee, 28 July 1956, SLV/FBM.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid. A. E. Popham of the British Museum informed McDonnell of Barlow's intention.

<sup>534</sup> Hoff, interview, 18 November 1999.

<sup>535</sup> Hoff, Report of her evaluation of the Barlow Collection in London, attachment to A. J. L. McDonnell to the Felton Bequest Committee, 28 July 1956, SLV/FBM.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid.

<sup>537</sup> Ibid.

<sup>538</sup> Hoff, interviewed by James Mellon, 1989.

### Melbourne's Cultural Transition

Throughout the 1940s the intelligentsia, artists and émigrés considered Melbourne, rather than Sydney, the more empathetic place in relation to important humanitarian issues facing the Western world. As a city it was more open about its cultural politics during the war years and it provided a wider, more expressive terrain for its painters, poets and writers. Melbourne was 'intense, restless and adventurous, even violent',<sup>539</sup> but, as Richard Haese has emphasised, it also possessed an intellectual toughness. Haese's study of the cultural history of Australia at this time acknowledges the importance of Sydney as an 'alternative centre', but emphasises that Melbourne was where 'the battle-lines were more clearly defined, art at its most uncompromising, and conflicts between ideas, individuals and institutions sharpest and most bitter'.<sup>540</sup> In other words, Melbourne artists and intellectuals were the vanguard of the post-war Australian enlightenment.

As a body politic Melbourne accommodated perfectly someone like Joseph Burke, the inaugural Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne, who at the time of his arrival in 1947 — coming directly from the British Ministry of War and Reconstruction — was already operating at a sophisticated political level. However, the rise and impact of Keith Murdoch (1886–1952) on the political and cultural landscape of Melbourne, and more broadly Australia, should not be underestimated. (plate 31) A pro-modern internationalist, Murdoch supported individuals with progressive ideas, but was equally interested in a universalist approach to 'aesthetic rules' that might advance Australia towards the best international cultural standards.<sup>541</sup>

As a media mogul he resembled a Machiavellian prince, but could swiftly assume the mask of a Medician patron of the arts. Keenly political, Murdoch used his newspapers to disseminate his authority, but he also used this power to oppose and marginalise other conservative individuals and reactionary values. As an

<sup>539</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.19.

<sup>540</sup> Ibid, p.6.

<sup>541</sup> Keith Murdoch, 'National organisation for art' pp.54–5, *Society of Artists Book, 1945–6*, Sydney, Ure Smith, 1946 and 'Sir Keith speaks on art', ibid, pp.10–11.



interventionist capitalist, Murdoch supplied the finance to expand the cultural engine of Melbourne. In particular, he favoured the National Gallery of Victoria as a platform for his reforms — he was a Trustee in 1933 and its Chairman in 1939. Then, in 1945 he sponsored the Herald Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne.

Between 1910 and 1921 Murdoch's apprenticeship in the international world of politics, war and reportage provided opportunities for him to establish interesting American, British and Canadian connections and this, as Humphrey McQueen points out, is one explanation for Murdoch's support of modernism.<sup>542</sup> Keith Murdoch may have partly imitated the wealthy American cultural elites such as the Rockefellers and their appointee, Alfred Hamilton Barr, with his appointments of Basil Burdett and Daryl Lindsay. Through these two men Murdoch was to consolidate his ideas and perceptions of the world of the art museum, collection and exhibition management. Murdoch's reaction to conservatism in Australian culture reached its zenith with his *Herald Exhibition of Modern French and British Art* in 1939, but even this may have been influenced by Roger Fry's post-impressionist Grafton Show of 1910 in London and its cultural facsimile, the Armory Show of 1913 in New York.<sup>543</sup>

As a *nouveau riche* merchant, the 'Samuel Courtauld' of the antipodes,<sup>544</sup> Murdoch felt impelled to haul select institutions out of a provincial fog and into the new world. He expressed his cultural prominence by sponsoring several important exhibitions, one in 1931 at the *Herald* building of some sixty modernist prints loaned by Gino Nibbi, and later the 1939 exhibition. Both exhibitions included originals possibly from the same source, such as a Matisse, Picasso, Utrillo, Dufy and Modigliani.<sup>545</sup> However, the watershed *Herald* exhibition of 1939, comprised entirely of originals, was declared by critics and artists alike to be the most important exhibition ever held in Australia, far eclipsing the 1937 exhibition of modern European painting that George Bell had assembled for the National Gallery of Victoria in 1937. The *Herald* exhibition was a coup for modern art and a direct confrontation to the

<sup>542</sup> McQueen, *Black swan of trespass*, pp.37–8

<sup>543</sup> *Keith Murdoch, Journalist*, Melbourne, The Herald and Weekly Times, 1952, p.46, for references to the Grafton Show in London 1910 and the Armory Show in New York 1913.

<sup>544</sup> This pseudonym was used by a number of academics and was a reference to Murdoch's elite cultural profile.

<sup>545</sup> McQueen, *Black swan of trespass*, p.22.

conservative members of the art world. Importantly, it was a means of relocating European works out of the danger fields of Europe, with many of the paintings remaining in Australia during the war and a number purchased by private collectors and public institutions. Keith Murdoch could not have achieved any of this without Basil Burdett, the driving force behind the exhibition, who had borrowed from private, public and commercial collections in England and France, as well as Australia. It included some fine examples of art by Matisse, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Derain, Vallaton and other major European post-impressionists. Importantly, this exhibition was catalytic for Australian modernism in art, but it also set the tone for the arrival of European refugee artists.

Melbourne was at its intellectual and artistic heart temperamentally receptive to, and played a powerful part in the fate of the refugees, and their recovery as individuals. Its reputation, though elitist and typified by a capitalistic 'old man's bureaucracy',<sup>546</sup> was nevertheless ostensibly a humanistic and more European one than that of the more exotic Sydney.<sup>547</sup> Manning Clark saw Melbourne's social and cultural environment as 'the product of liberalism, secularism, Marxism, Australian cultural chauvinism, and further back the Enlightenment ... where one believe[d] in the uplifting and spiritual role of culture in the civilization of the masses'.<sup>548</sup> It was perhaps these features that gave the city its paradoxical face, on one hand aspiring to ennobling values based upon 'cultural self-importance ... political relevance',<sup>549</sup> while on the other elitist in its values of inclusion and exclusion. Only at Melbourne's bohemian centre and periphery did an artistic flux expose a new current of modernism, otherwise the establishment tended to dominate the cultural landscape.

As the 1940s progressed and the cultural hiatus enforced by the war years came to an end, a euphoric post-war reconstruction mood emerged, promising an intellectual and cultural renaissance that had been glimpsed in the late 1930s. In this climate a new social conscience and a humanism emerged most forcibly within the arts. The creative pulse, though it had never stopped, was revived by artists, poets and intellectuals in the

<sup>546</sup> Robin Boyd, *Artificial Australia: the Boyer Lectures 1967*, Sydney, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1967, p.4.

<sup>547</sup> Docker, pp.x-xii.

<sup>548</sup> C. M. H. Clark, 'Faith' in Peter Coleman (ed.), *Australian civilization*, pp.85-8.

<sup>549</sup> Docker, p.xi.

form of journals, exhibitions, musical concerts, ballet and theatre. In Melbourne it was possible to see exhibitions by 'young radicals' such as Albert Tucker, Sidney Nolan, Yosl Bergner, Arthur Boyd, John Perceval, Danila Vassilieff, Noel Counihan, Vic O'Conner, Eric Thake and the Sydney surrealist painter James Gleeson. Modern art and craft products, particularly linocut prints and pottery were exhibited in small bookshops such as Miss McMillan's Primrose Pottery, the Blue Door, Cynthia Reed's modern interior design shop in Little Collins Street, Margareta Webber's Bookshop or galleries such as the Georges Gallery, Athenaeum Gallery, Velasquez Gallery and Tye's Gallery, or Gino Nibbi's 'Leonardo Art Shop'. From the mid 1930s and for the next decade the injection of European values, combined with the impact of modernism, produced one of the most original and exciting peaks in Australian twentieth century art. Part of that excitement came with the struggle to liberate aesthetics because many of the 'old' boundaries had been broken down by the repercussions of the Second World War and the impact of the European émigrés could no longer be ignored.

The cross-fertilization which occurred when these 'outsiders' became a part of the Australian war effort or post-war society accounts for much of the rapid progress made in industrialisation, medical, chemical and technological advancement, as well as a flowering in theatre, musical entertainment, academia and the arts. By the early to mid 1940s those men and women who were able intellectually and culturally to contribute to Australian society were regarded by a handful of cultural assessors as 'a most salutary blood transfusion.'<sup>550</sup>

By virtue of its attraction for intellectuals and artists, Melbourne also became more suited to facilitating important dialogues between prominent art factions. The emergence of socially democratic journals such as *Meanjin* and *Dissent* provided an organ for disseminating various contemporary views and monitoring the progress of Australia's cultural and intellectual position. It also introduced vital international writers and poets to an Australian audience. This was more pronounced after *Meanjin's* relocation from Brisbane to Melbourne in 1945 — 'there was', editor Clem Christesen wrote, 'a quickened mental alertness, a heightened consciousness, a fresh

---

<sup>550</sup> Penton, p.58.

hope for the nation's future. The promise of a cultural renaissance surpassing that of the 80s and 90s was tremendously exciting to us.<sup>551</sup>

The political, social and cultural condition of the Australian corpus was undergoing a transformation and several art movements, either in ideological battle or partnership, abetted new forms of local and international aesthetic directions within Melbourne. These included the Contemporary Art Society and later its break-away reincarnation led by John Reed; Robert Menzies' Australian Academy of Art, which attracted a strong negative reaction amongst Melbourne modernists; the Social Realists; the Angry Penguins; the Surrealists; and one of Modernism's more revered protagonists, George Bell. The National Gallery of Victoria was content to watch from its establishment sideline. Bell's role in the transference of European aesthetics and the establishment of modernism in Melbourne began in the early thirties. His art of the 1930s was defined by French and British post-impressionistic influences, the principles of Cubism, and English modernism, particularly the mode associated with Iain Macnab's 'Grosvenor School of Modern Art' in London. In 1935 George Bell met through Macnab other important British artists such as Henry Moore, John and Paul Nash, Graham Sutherland, Mark Gertler and Bernard Meninsky,<sup>552</sup> and the impact of these artists confirmed the value of European modernism and the need for Bell to disseminate it as a vital and necessary aesthetic doctrine in Australia. This he did through his teaching and art criticism; his dialectical presence, as Russell Drysdale wrote in 1944, was galvanising for Melbourne's modernism.

His integrity and knowledge were demonstrated by the fact that it was always to him that people came and around whom revolved the modern art of the '30s. When a dispute arose or a controversy started, the adherents of the modern cause closed their ranks and looked to Bell as their leader.<sup>553</sup>

Countenancing Bell's modernist dictum was his friend the Italian art and cultural critic Gino Nibbi (1896–1969). Nibbi became a critical European presence in the Melbourne art world from the beginning of the 1930s through to the post-war period. An Italian ideologue and anti-fascist, Nibbi arrived in Australia in 1928 at the

<sup>551</sup> Clem Christesen, quoted in Docker, p.103.

<sup>552</sup> June Helmer, *George Bell: the art of influence*, Melbourne, Greenhouse Publications, 1985, p.78.

<sup>553</sup> Russell Drysdale, cited in *ibid*, p.65.

age of 31, escaping Mussolini's increasing domination as well as pursuing his 'taste for nomadism,' and his quest for a utopian resting place.<sup>554</sup> When he settled for the sprawling 'broad emptiness of Melbourne',<sup>555</sup> a city that nevertheless must have appealed to his ideological senses, he began tilting at the windmills of its culture. Through his rhetorical articles and his idealistic enquiries into human behaviour, especially an 'engagement with and criticism of certain aspects of middle-class Australia', Nibbi challenged the cultural world of Melbourne, imbuing it with a new level of enthusiasm.<sup>556</sup> His concern with the country's lack of cultural determination, and for man's freedom in the southern arcadia, endeared him to the young radicals, yet what Nibbi found so attractive in the intellectual and cultural dichotomy of Melbourne was what the Adelaide born Max Harris encountered when he became a citizen of the city: 'the hub of Melbourne's mystery is that it is distinguished by a vigorously humane and liberal component despite the charmless, faceless, physical characteristics of the city'.<sup>557</sup>

By 1930 Gino Nibbi had established the Leonardo Art Shop at 170 Little Collins Street. (plate 32) This art and bookshop became a depot for quality literature, both Australian and international. Writing to an Italian friend Nibbi described his cultural ambitions for Melbourne:

Melbourne 4 July 1928...Australians, generally, love books (in front of my window there is a continuous crowd of curious onlookers) and bookshops always have plenty of work. But, you see, even here – to avoid exceptionally high cost prices – we must display simple editions for the majority of the public, along with novels and manuals for all arts and crafts since a student wishing to paint must have a method; to become an architect, one must have a method; to become a cook, one must have a method etc.<sup>558</sup>

One year later, Nibbi wrote again,

...Melbourne 4 July 1929 — I have become a vendor of paintings: I sell Matisse, Cezanne, Van Gogh but (alas!) only copies. However, I impose my taste upon the poor and millionaire alike, and if I pursue this tack, Australia

<sup>554</sup> Michael Arrighi (ed.), *Italians in Australia: the literary experience*, Wollongong, University of Wollongong, 1991, p.28.

<sup>555</sup> Antonio Pagliari, 'Gino Nibbi: Il volto dell'emigrante', unpublished manuscript.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid.

<sup>557</sup> Max Harris, *The angry eye*, Sydney, Pergamon, 1973, p.24.

<sup>558</sup> Alfredo Luzi, 'Gino Nibbi: lettere dall'Australia tra mito e autobiografia', trans. by Michael Arrighi in *Italians in Australia*, p.30.

will be fully occupied with discussion about modern impressionist art in a few years time.<sup>559</sup>

By 1940 Nibbi's bookshop was an oasis for artists, writers and Europhiles thirsting for material and information on international art and literature. Seen browsing through imported reproductions of traditional and modern European masterpieces, art books, postcards and periodicals such as *Meanjin*, *Comment* or the occasional copy of 'French art magazines such as *L'Oeil*, *Verve*, *Minotaure*, *Vingtieme Siecle* and *Cahiers d'Art*', were the young avant-garde radicals.<sup>560</sup> Among these were Sidney Nolan, Arthur Boyd, John Perceval, Albert Tucker and Danila Vassilieff. Other regulars included Basil Burdett, Judah Waten, Vance and Nettie Palmer, Michael Keon, Clive Turnbull, Alan McCulloch, Stephen Murray-Smith, Adrian Lawlor, Sam Atyeo, Ian Fairweather and Alister Kershaw, who like many young aspiring writers and artists savoured every cultivated word the squat and urbane Italian emitted.<sup>561</sup> George Bell, Arnold Shore, Rupert Bunny, Bernard Smith, Vic O'Connor, Ursula Hoff, Daryl and Lionel Lindsay, Keith Murdoch, John Reed and the musicians Hepzibeth Menuhin and Percy Grainger frequently called in to this favourite art and literary salon.

For Albert Tucker, Nibbi 'coming from the outside ... instantly saw the state of Australian painting and what it needed, so he fulfilled that need. His kind of European sophistication was immensely valuable.'<sup>562</sup> His private collection of *pittura metafisica* included paintings by De Chirico, Giorgio Morandi, Gino Serverini, Carra and Moshe Kisler, and these profoundly affected many artists. His involvement in the Contemporary Art Society and in Melbourne's modernist evolution was seminal. Moreover, his obsession with comparing contemporary Australian cultural and political values with that of Europe was operative for artists grappling with the notion of an Australian style and identity,<sup>563</sup> and in turn the young bohemians venerated

<sup>559</sup> Ibid, p.30.

<sup>560</sup> Harry Tatlock Miller published the journal *Manuscript* in Geelong between 1931-35. Miller moved to London in 1947 where he became co-director with Rex Nan Kivell of the Redfern Gallery, which exhibited the work of Sidney Nolan, Donald Friend, Loudon Sainthill and Douglas Annand. See Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.26.

<sup>561</sup> Kershaw, *Hey days*, p.2-3.

<sup>562</sup> Tucker, quoted in Janine Burke, *Australian gothic: a life of Albert Tucker*, Sydney, Knopf, 2002, p.33.

<sup>563</sup> Pagliari.

him.<sup>564</sup> Even after his return to Italy in 1947 — which coincided with the exodus of many artists — he continued to support Australian artists. At his bookshop the *Ai Quattro Venti* (To the Four Winds) in Rome, Sidney Nolan held an exhibition of his paintings in October 1950, and Albert Tucker in April 1953. Nibbi had also tried to arrange Australian artists' participation in the Venice Biennale.<sup>565</sup>

Modernism, though a complex movement, nevertheless reflected the *laissez-faire* imperatives of the twentieth century. It was sustained by the intelligentsia, artists, pro-Marxist ideologues and even those more innocent of its history and function. Modernism in Australia was understandably never as ferocious a phenomenon as it had been in Europe, or as solid a social movement as in America during the 1930s, but it did present in its high seriousness an equally anarchic — 'we have to incorporate outrage in our aesthetics'<sup>566</sup> — as well as poetic face. What made modernism during the forties uniquely compelling, particularly in Melbourne, was its quest for a 'social and national identity' as defined by 'the peripheral condition of Australia.'<sup>567</sup>

Bernard Smith, writing of the isolation experienced by Australian artists during the war years, felt that they had been 'left to cultivate and cope with their own [angst]'.<sup>568</sup> Smith's observation is correct when comparison is made to the mobilisation of the arts as a collective effort in America during the 1930s, where its federal policy responded to the needs of its population and was progressively active in regard to the effects of 'the trauma of the depression that solidifies working-class perceptions'.<sup>569</sup> These concerns produced 'a new iconography and rhetoric about class'. The American cultural front became a successful collaborative effort between the Unions, the Federal Arts Projects and a 'new working class culture' and covered diverse areas inhabited by artists, writers, theatre and film, musicians and education.<sup>570</sup> Even though this form of cultural politics often controlled freedom of expression in terms of content, it

<sup>564</sup> Kershaw, *Hey days*, pp.2-3.

<sup>565</sup> Desmond O'Grady, *Corregio Jones and the runaways*, Melbourne, Carlton Street Publishers, 1995, pp.86 and 90; Janine Burke, *Australian gothic*, p.326.

<sup>566</sup> Max Harris, quoted in Boyd *Artificial Australia*, p.25.

<sup>567</sup> Charles Merewether, 'Modernism from the lower depths' in *Angry Penguins and realist painting in Melbourne in the 1940s*, Exhibition Catalogue, London, South Bank Centre, 1988, p.77.

<sup>568</sup> Bernard Smith, 'Realist art in wartime Australia', in *ibid*, p.55.

<sup>569</sup> Michael Denning, *The cultural front*, London, Verso, 1997, p.8.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibid*.

nevertheless consolidated the creative spirit and gave the working class in particular a sense of inclusion and hope.

The cultural field in America, however, was enormous and could not be ignored, whereas in Australia it was a drop in a small population pool. The lack of public support, and the generally isolated efforts of the artist working outside elite institutions reflected an alarming lack of aid from federal and state governments. The provincial impotency in Australia towards its own cultural programmes was certainly part of an 'island mentality' and geographic isolation, and caused considerable frustration to avant-garde artists and intellectuals. It has been argued, however, that this distancing from the powerful cultural movements sweeping across Europe or America was what made the art of this period in Australia unique and exciting. But Australian art was not without European literary or stylistic affinities. The editors of the journal *Angry Penguins* published translations of Rimbaud, Lorca and Rilke, Dylan Thomas, Garcia Marquez and other emerging European poets. Albert Tucker, a contributor to the same journal, included 'a section devoted to contemporary music from jazz to Shostakovich',<sup>571</sup> and *Meanjin* supported a democratic and leftist array of Australian and international intellectuals and artists. The art stacks of the Public Library held a remarkable collection of books on European art and intellectual material that artists avidly read, and John and Sunday Reed's library at Heide consisted of American, British and European art catalogues, contemporary books on art and philosophy, which they made available to their chosen artists.<sup>572</sup> Melbourne's radical young artists and intellectuals were responding to the angst of the time, and their work was expressive of the emotional and psychological values of this 'profound historical change'. That change was informed as much by the outside world as by their own *kunstwollen*.<sup>573</sup> Franz Philipp, reflecting upon the role of the artist in society at this

<sup>571</sup> Barret Reid, 'Making it new in Australia' in *Angry Penguins and realist painting*, p.42.

<sup>572</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.26, mentions *Die kunst des 20 jahrhunderts* and R.H. Wilenski's *The Modern movement in art and modern French painting* at the State Library. For a list of books in John and Sunday Reed's library, see the 1983 inventory at Heide, National Gallery of Australia or the SLV.

<sup>573</sup> See Charles Merewether, 'Modernism from the lower depths', p.69.



time, wrote that 'During the war years the climate of art had changed from non-involvement to an 'engaged' art, and especially so in Melbourne'.<sup>574</sup>

One group of artists who used this peripheral position to their greatest advantage were those gathered under John and Sunday Reed's patronal wings. The Reeds' notion of identity was as much their own inimitable, sophisticated preferences as it was a cultural and ideological formation developed through a range of modern European literary influences and a romanticised exclusiveness. What the Reeds offered to a small group of poverty stricken young artists, who became known as 'the Angry Penguins', was security, food, platonic and passionate friendship and the intellectual belief that 'you need to come to all new expression unshielded by dogma ... Art, like any other part of human experience, was a mystery'.<sup>575</sup> In other words, what they offered was modernism's mandala wrapped in patronage. Protected and nourished by the Reeds' inspired vision and generous purse, and under the 'hallowed and rarefied' gaze of Sunday Reed<sup>576</sup> — the antipodean goddess — the 'select few' who frequented Heide were encouraged to discuss and create a hybrid-original style of art based on Australian and European values, radically reinterpreting the land, its people and its myths. The young Sidney Nolan absorbed Rilke, Rimbaud and Malevitch's constructive existentialism and painted his 'instinctive, truly primitive' Kelly series and his Wimmera pictures with poetic intensity.<sup>577</sup> Arthur Boyd's figures, lovers and cripples pulsed in the Australian landscape, or were crowded into wild Bruegelian or sombre Rembrandt influenced compositions. John Perceval explored the carnivals of suburban terror; Albert Tucker muzzled his images of evil, prostitution and poverty with a mask of German expressionism and surrealism, as did Joy Hester in her piercing gouaches of passion and madness. (plates 33 & 34) These young artists deconstructed the landscape, and created a new iconology for the desolation and the beauty of the Australian bush. As they redefined the inhabitants of the cities, they assiduously celebrated the most essential and existential qualities of disorientation, isolation or despair. In coming to terms psychologically with the relationship of the self within the

<sup>574</sup> Philipp, *Boyd*, p.29.

<sup>575</sup> Barret Reid in *Angry Penguins and realist painting*, p.36.

<sup>576</sup> Ros Hollingrake, telephone interview, April 2003.

<sup>577</sup> *Sydney Nolan*, exhibition catalogue, London, the Redfern Gallery, May 1955.

construct of 'place', their art surpassed in content and intensity the art of the Heidelberg School of the 1880s, when the concept of a truly national identity had been stirred and captured with a new 'heroic' vision of man, the land and an Australian romanticism.<sup>578</sup>

Many other Australian artists at this time intellectually and aesthetically internalised European values through art and discussion, while never abnegating the unique qualities of their antipodean vision. Danila Vassileff, Yosl Bergner, Vic O'Connor and Noel Counihan formed the nucleus of a Social Realist group of painters, with Bernard Smith locating himself — from the distance of Sydney — as their intellectual mouthpiece.

What was still needed were intellectual voices that could begin to decipher the cultural transition that was unfurling. This came with people such as Judah Waten, Gino Nibbi, Andrew Fabinyi, Franz Philipp, Joseph Burke, Bernard Smith and Ursula Hoff in their articles, books, lectures and discourses. The decade of the 1940s belongs in many ways to the Europeans, not just in Australia but in the Western world. The relocation and transmission of their cultural and intellectual values gave Australians a new orientation with which to embrace the post-war world.

---

<sup>578</sup> See Hoff, 'Reflections', 125–33.

## Four

### The Glass Bead

The need for 'charismatic' leaders and elites seems to be most keenly felt wherever complex and difficult social changes are taking place and familiar ways of life are disappearing

T.B. Bottomore.<sup>579</sup>

During the 1940s, the elite social and cultural world of Melbourne resembled a small, but conservatively cut, glass bead. This bead reflected the 'managerial elite,' whose dedication to the politics of materialism and power also embraced the cultural hegemony of the city.<sup>580</sup> Indeed, Melbourne's Anglo-centric ruling class still clung throughout the 1940s and the 1950s, as they had done since the 1840s, to a 'lingering sense of British heritage' adhering to established English codes of edification and moral correctness. Those educational institutions and social clubs that serviced the ruling and middle class were regulated by predictable influences such as framed photographs of the King, the neatness of prim English fashions and a traditional secularism.<sup>581</sup> The Empire still marshaled a powerful presence, and 'a pervasive affection for the actual physical landscapes of England' retained its allure.<sup>582</sup> But the forties in Australia were a time of change on many fronts: politically, economically, culturally and intellectually. England, the mother country, was about to embark on a period of graceful estrangement from its dominions.

<sup>579</sup> Bottomore, *Elites and society*, p.72.

<sup>580</sup> Docker, p.107.

<sup>581</sup> Some of these clubs included The Melbourne Club, the Savage Club, the T Square Club, the Wallababy Club, the Beefsteak Club, the Lyceum Club, the Alexandra Club, the Catalyst Club, the National Gallery Society from 1947, and the Victorian Artists Society.

<sup>582</sup> John Thompson, 'British roots, Australian fruits', *Meanjin*, lxiii (no.3, 2004), 86.

While politicians and capitalists may have dominated the political and cultural front in Australia, a radical undercurrent was perceptible. A new cultural cocktail was beginning to develop during the bureaucratised hiatus of the Second World War, when 'the strictures imposed by those who presumed to set its standards and lay down its forms' prevailed.<sup>583</sup> This created an environment that was suitable for a new generation of artists and intellectuals to pursue their own '*kunstwollen* – will to form'. A distinctive new 'aesthetic and intellectual awareness' began slowly to infiltrate the traditional public sphere and accentuated the euphoric, post-war reconstruction mood that was felt within both the left and the right of the social fulcrum.<sup>584</sup>

This was a time of tentatively looking forward. However, Max Harris's and John Reed's provocative *Angry Penguins* and Clem Christesen's *Meanjin*, as invigorating as they were for the intellectual climate, reached only a minority, and their efficacy within the anticipated cultural renaissance remained generally overshadowed by a pervasive traditional hangover. 'Conservative Australia knew what it wanted. It did not want change'.<sup>585</sup> This attitude had characterised much of the decade of the 'frightened thirties' and had appalled H. G. Wells, the famous futurist, on his 1938 visit to Canberra and Sydney. Wells addressed what he believed to be 'the elite of Australasian progress', but so distressed was he by the apparent insular apathy he left the country deeply despondent.<sup>586</sup>

As an articulate cultural assessor *Meanjin*'s Clem Christesen implored his small readership to respond to the cultural malaise and 'assume [a] social "responsibility"': 'The writer [and artist] is situated in time: each word has reverberations: each silence, too. *He is responsible.*'<sup>587</sup> Christesen used the voice of the intelligentsia in a passionate, 'humanizing and civilizing' way, willing Australians to acknowledge its indigenous and local cultural terrain as much as embracing 'European values' critical to society and the arts. Amongst Christesen's Australian group of intellectuals were the

<sup>583</sup> Haese, p.7.

<sup>584</sup> Docker, p.103.

<sup>585</sup> Boyd, *Artificial Australia*, p.27.

<sup>586</sup> H. G. Wells, *The fate of homo sapiens*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1939, p.102. The famous, elderly Wells had travelled extensively throughout Europe and America lecturing on the urgent need to reorient and recondition the human mind against the 'dark shadow' of chaos that was threatening to dominate the world.

<sup>587</sup> Quoted in Docker, p.103.

voices of émigrés such as Ursula Hoff, Gerhard Buchdahl, Leonhard Adam, Franz Philipp, Andrew Fabinyi, W. D. Falk, Kurt Baier, Maximillian Feuerring, Irma Schnierer, Berta Irom, Erwin Rado, Henry Wiemann and Sali Herman. These European artists and scholars added an intellectual dimension to Australia that made it seem part of the greater universe. Their inclusion with elite Australian intellectuals and artists may have helped pave the way towards a cultural expansion, but it also revealed that a real intellectual and cultural hunger existed in Australia that needed to be satisfied.

On his arrival in Australia, Joseph Burke was also concerned with relocating cultural material and methods from one society and culture to another. But his concept was to use culture as a social relationship. In this he felt himself to be in an undisputed position to reform higher education and the arts through his own idiosyncratic, though largely British, values. Yet Burke had known, from his student years at the University of London's Courtauld Institute and its *de facto* partner the Warburg Institute, of the importance and usefulness of continental intellectuals in the reform of British cultural and intellectual programmes. When he began his job as Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne at the beginning of 1947, he discovered that a number of 'dismissed savants' were close at hand and he immediately enlisted them, hoping their intellectual qualifications would ensure that his aim of structuring a School of Fine Arts based upon international standards would become a reality.<sup>588</sup> Burke thus invited Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp and a retinue of Europeans and Englishmen such as Ludvig Hirshfeld-Mack, Leonhard Adam, W. D. Falk<sup>589</sup>, Sir Kenneth Clark, T.S.R. Boase, and Nikolaus Pevsner to lecture at the University or the Art Gallery, offering the public and students intellectual opportunities rarely offered in Australia.<sup>590</sup>

By 1947 Daryl Lindsay had initiated the National Gallery Society, where art, culture and middle class society intermingled. Exhibitions, musical concerts and

<sup>588</sup> These international standards included both American (Yale University) and British (University of London and the Courtauld Institute).

<sup>589</sup> Werner David (Ferdinand) Falk, lectured in Philosophy at the University of Melbourne from 1950 to 1958. University Calender, SpC/UM 378.945, 1958. He was a collector of Egyptian and Oriental artifacts and contemporary Australian art and was married to Barbara Falk (née Cohen).

<sup>590</sup> Boase came out to Australia through the British Memorial Foundation in 1956, of which Burke was chairman from 1952–1960. The British Memorial Foundation offered fellowships to British men and women to study in Australia. UMA/78/46. Pevsner visited Australia in 1958.

lectures on 'civilised' culture could be enjoyed within an aesthetic public environment. Similarly, Daryl Lindsay knew of the benefits that art historians provided within major museums and galleries overseas. Their intellectual and cultural qualifications validated many major collections in terms of scholarship and authentication and contributed towards a real historical and cultural evaluation of works of art. Lindsay therefore celebrated the inclusion of Ursula Hoff into the National Gallery of Victoria, where she — and later Burke and Franz Philipp to a lesser degree — offered a bridge to the past; their knowledge, rhetorical discourses and publications re-created another world, an analysed corpus of the masterpieces from the National Gallery of Victoria's collection. The role of the Europeans in this cultural programme emphasised the vision of Europe and its relation to Australia — 'to talk of one [was] to talk of the other'.<sup>591</sup>

### **Daryl Lindsay and the National Gallery of Victoria**

In 1939, when Sir Keith Murdoch was appointed President of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, he persuaded Daryl Lindsay to accept the position of Keeper of Prints and Curator of the Art Museum, a position which Murdoch assured him would lead to the directorship two years later. While Lindsay's acceptance made him complicit in Murdoch's plan to depose the presiding director J. S. MacDonald, it also provided Murdoch and the spirited Lindsay with the opportunity to evaluate the Gallery, take stock of the collection and reshape the institution, both in its form and content. As President of the National Gallery of Victoria, Murdoch recognised the need to engage a director who shared his political, cultural and social ethos, so that he could create a gallery that shone both as 'an object of national pride and a cultural

<sup>591</sup> Peter Beilharz, 'A Day with Bernard Smith', Thesis Eleven symposium, La Trobe University, 23 April 2003.

obligation'<sup>592</sup> — as well as serve as a banner for his prominent position in Australian affairs.

Murdoch's philosophy — a combination of 'monopoly capitalism' and 'democracy materialism' — was carefully attuned to modern issues of the economy and its commercialization, which in turn extended to art as a commodity.<sup>593</sup>

Acknowledging the American ethos that culture was an important part of a nation's power, wealth and civilised position, Murdoch's attraction to the National Gallery was always twofold. He fully understood the role of patronage as a powerful tool and art as an elevating experience. But he also knew that Australia's chance of emerging a stronger nation after the war depended upon men in key positions who would perform in accordance with the ambitions that he and other elite magnates shared. And Daryl Lindsay fell into this category.

In March 1941 Daryl Lindsay (1889–1976) replaced the beleaguered and 'rather aggressive, unpredictable' James S. MacDonald as Director of the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>594</sup> (plate 35) This officially established Lindsay's cultural partnership with Murdoch. Over the next decade these two men would oversee the consolidation and expansion of Australia's most major public art collection, the National Gallery of Victoria, and its emergence as an institution in its own right, rather than the conjoined body of the Library, Museum and Art Gallery as it had been set up in 1869.<sup>595</sup>

Daryl Lindsay's knowledge of the Australian and English art markets, and the British and continental museums and collections was also more advanced than that of many previous directors and most of his contemporaries in the Australian art world. Endowed with a shrewd judgment, he was a forceful but attractive character. His wide association with people and artists, from the traditional to the modern, the worker to the squire, placed him in a position where he felt capable of revitalizing local culture.

<sup>592</sup> Hans Tietze, *Treasures of the great national galleries*, London, Phaidon, 1955, p.7.

<sup>593</sup> McQueen, *Black swan of trespass*, pp.49–53.

<sup>594</sup> The bad press that MacDonald received may be explained by Murdoch's personal vendetta against him. Humphrey McQueen has commented upon MacDonald's blackened reputation as something that was successfully contrived by his foes. See McQueen, 'Jimmy's brief lives' in Bradley and Smith (eds), *Australian art and architecture*, p.177.

<sup>595</sup> Ann Galbally and Alison Inglis, *The first collections: the Public Library and the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne, The University of Melbourne Museum of Art, 1992, p.24.

As a man of 'ideas' and the conviction 'to translate those ideas into action',<sup>596</sup> Daryl Lindsay's enthusiasm found a receptive ally in Keith Murdoch, and over a thirty-year period each came to trust one another and they often conspired to achieve specific results. The roles that these men played in the reformation and the internationalizing of the National Gallery of Victoria has not been fully explored,<sup>597</sup> but clearly Lindsay and Murdoch needed one another in order to achieve the successes that marked their professional partnership.

Even before becoming the director of the National Gallery in March 1941, Lindsay had initiated important changes and displayed his credentials. Within six months of starting at the Gallery he had remodelled the Print Room — a recommendation made by the English Felton Adviser Sir Sidney Cockerall to MacDonald in 1937<sup>598</sup> — and begun displaying some of the Gallery's most important works. These included Rembrandt etchings, a selection of old master drawings, and the brilliant William Blake watercolours. It is important to acknowledge how much Daryl Lindsay relied on Sir Sidney Cockerall's vision of a revitalised gallery. In August 1936, Cockerall, an urbane, intelligent and astute connoisseur and the London Felton Adviser from 1936 until 1939, visited Melbourne to assess the Gallery's collection and familiarise himself with the Trustees. His extraordinary report of 1937 became a working template for much of the reforms initiated under Lindsay's directorship with 'almost every recommendation [of Cockerall's] adopted and carried out' — including the formation of a Gallery Society.<sup>599</sup>

Cockerall, who had recently retired as the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, was well qualified to make this report, a response to the shocking conditions and the physical state of the National Gallery of Victoria, which he believed reflected the 'indolence and ineffectiveness of the Director, MacDonald'.<sup>600</sup> The report recommended new colour schemes and decorative agendas for the Gallery, areas in

<sup>596</sup> A.D. Trendall, speech for the conferring of an Honorary Doctor of Law, University of Melbourne, 10 May 1957; Burke on Daryl Lindsay, *Quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, x, (no.1, 1956).

<sup>596</sup> See Cox, p.145.

<sup>597</sup> See Cox and Poynter.

<sup>598</sup> Cox, p.145.

<sup>599</sup> Ibid, p.145.

<sup>600</sup> For a full account of this report, see *ibid*, pp.410–16.



which the notable European connoisseur Bernard Berenson had witnessed Cockerall's outstanding ability with his transformation of the Fitzwilliam Museum 'from a dismal miscellany... into one of the finest museum buildings existing, with lighting and arrangements, not to speak of contents, every bit as good as the famous one at Rotterdam'.<sup>601</sup> The report was probably the most constructive and valuable piece of advice that the National Gallery of Victoria had ever received, emphatically stressing the need for a new, autonomous modern art gallery for the city of Melbourne:

The aim must be to welcome the newcomer, to stimulate his sense of beauty, and to induce him to come again and again.

No more blame can be attached to the architects of the last century for not having anticipated modern developments than to a designer of a pre-war aeroplane for similar shortcomings. They produced what according to the standards of those days were very handsome galleries ...

... Sooner or later it will be recognised that the existing structure is unworthy of a city whose proud ambition it must be to excel in all things. Then perhaps through the munificence of one or more public-spirited citizens, money for the erection of a new and splendid National Gallery will be forthcoming.<sup>602</sup>

Though Keith Murdoch regarded Cockerall as 'vain, aggressive and somewhat quarrelsome', he nevertheless believed him to be brilliant and 'the best' of the British field of art consultants,<sup>603</sup> and he heeded Cockerall's recommendation that the Gallery should be divorced from the Library and the Museum. Daryl Lindsay turned to the English again in regard to collection management, and instituted a professional structure based upon the British Museum. He sought the advice of A. M. Hind, the British Museum's Keeper of Prints, and Carl Winter — an expatriate Australian and Assistant Keeper of Engravings and Paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum — on particular aspects of museum and curatorial management.<sup>604</sup>

Lindsay's transformation of the Gallery during the early years of the Second World War provided some relief in an otherwise constrained and tense city environment. Implementing more of Cockerall's suggestions, he rehung paintings in

<sup>601</sup> Berenson, quoted in *ibid*, p.142.

<sup>602</sup> Cox, p.411.

<sup>603</sup> Keith Murdoch to A.E. Bright, 21 August 1936, quoted in *ibid*, p.143.

<sup>604</sup> Carl Winter was the son-in-law of Sir Thomas Barlow whose magnificent collection of Dürer prints was sold to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1956. Irena Zdanovicz, lecture notes for 'A History of the National Gallery of Victoria Collections', 29 August 1994, private possession.

order of period and schools and removed ossified exhibits such as a Victorian glass display case full of postage stamps.<sup>605</sup> He upgraded the lighting by having the skylights cleaned, and what had been a 'dark and dingy' place became considerably more inviting and uplifting. In keeping with many of the British Museum's wartime safety programs, and the increased risk of air raids, it was decided 'to remove the Gallery's most valuable possessions to safe places in the country'.<sup>606</sup> By 1941 Lindsay had made a list of works that were considered the jewels of the Gallery's crown, which included some ninety-six oil paintings, fifty-five watercolours, 314 drawings and etchings, thirty-eight miniatures, a Book of Hours and the Kent Collection of china and ceramics.<sup>607</sup> These were packed and sent to regional centres such as the Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, a large country house 'Ercildoune' near Learmonth,<sup>608</sup> and the disused prison cells at the Bendigo Gaol; the last repository was damp and a number of paintings were damaged.<sup>609</sup> This important assessment provided Lindsay with an overview of the collection's strengths and weaknesses from which he was able to dispose of what he perceived as irrelevant cultural material. Lindsay 'de-accessioned' third-rate works, copies or replicated excess that reflected what he felt was a provincialism characterising much of the collection. These were mostly Victorian paintings and decorative arts, which Lindsay considered were out of vogue.<sup>610</sup>

During the war years, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, then the country's reserve bank, refused to release Felton funds for the purchase of major works of art.<sup>611</sup>

<sup>605</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Amy McGrath, London, 9 July 1981, NLA/OHC; See also Cox, p.145.

<sup>606</sup> Annual report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, 1942, SLV.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid.

<sup>608</sup> Daryl Lindsay knew these repositories having attended the Ballarat Art Gallery in his childhood and youth. He had been the caretaker of Ercildoune, a large property west of Ballarat, just before the First World War.

<sup>609</sup> Memorandum to Sir Keith Murdoch, September 1942, NLA/KMP/MS. 2823/5/1.

<sup>610</sup> There were three auctions of art works from the National Gallery of Victoria during Lindsay's directorship. The first was in late 1939. Another in 1943 included Limoges, Minton, Doulton, Venetian glass, incense burners, Jade scepters and a hunting horn, many of which had no provenance details and were often gifts that had been dutifully accepted but not wanted. A third auction was held in 1950. The last auction by Leonard Joel took place in conjunction with the Stanley Coe Gallery at 435 Bourke Street, Melbourne, and consisted of a substantial number of oil paintings. Some of these 'deaccessioned' items have recently attracted renewed interest by curators.

<sup>611</sup> Mr Hugh Armitage, Governor of the Commonwealth Bank to Sir Keith Murdoch, 30 July 1945, NLA/KMP/MS. 2823/8. 'In the early stages of the war and indeed until quite comparatively recently, Australian funds overseas were urgently required for war purposes so that it was quite impossible in our

Thus restricted, Lindsay concentrated on consolidating the holdings of major Australian artists such as Charles Conder, Frederick McCubbin, Clara Southern, E. Philips Fox, George Lambert, Arthur Streeton, William Frater, John Russell and Arthur Murch. In September 1941 he purchased two hundred prints from Sydney art galleries, as well as further prints and drawings from his brother Lionel Lindsay.<sup>612</sup> Lindsay was frustrated and disappointed at being excluded from the international art market, and in 1942 he missed out on William Hogarth's 'Staymaker', a masterpiece that was duly purchased by the National Gallery in London for £3,250.<sup>613</sup> The Gallery's absence from the international art market together with the disappearance of many serious British and European art collectors whose fortunes had been lost, depleted or appropriated for the war effort, cleared the way for wealthy American dealers and collectors to buy many of the European masterpieces cheaply. However, by the end of the war, Daryl Lindsay had an opportunity to spend an accrued endowment fund of £180,000.<sup>614</sup>

The re-emergence, post-war, of the plump Felton purse — the largest individual bequest in the British Empire in 1945 — enabled Lindsay to enter as a strong contender on the European art market, though several obstacles continued to impede his race for acquiring important European works: Australia's distance from the international dealers; and more persistently the National Gallery of Victoria Trustees and the Felton Trustees themselves. These men felt that the Gallery should spread its Felton funds over many good pictures rather than purchase just one outstanding masterpiece. This had resulted in the loss to the Gallery of important works of art. Sir Sidney Cockerall had been particularly frustrated by the Melbourne Trustees' attitude. Cockerall had established connections with a number of European art dealers, many of whom had begun operating in London after their exile from Germany. These new émigré dealers were selling or passing on to established art dealers such as Colnaghis,

---

national interests to allow them to be used for semi-luxury purposes such as the purchase of works of art. Recently the position has eased somewhat. It still rests with the Customs Department to decide what imports they will issue permit for.'

<sup>612</sup> Lionel Lindsay focused his attention on the NGV after his contempt and dissatisfaction with the director of the AGNSW, Hal Missingham, and his 'communist accomplice', Bernard Smith. SLV/LFP, Ms. 9242, box 2003/1434-1468.

<sup>613</sup> SLV/FBM, 8 May 1942.

<sup>614</sup> NLA/KMP/MS.2823/8.

Lord Duveen or Thomas Agnew and Sons, some brilliant masterpieces from families fleeing the Nazi assault. Cockerall offered the Trustees, not once but twice, Cézanne's masterpiece *La Montagne Sainte Victoire*, firstly at £18,000, then at £17,500.<sup>615</sup> Their persistent reply was that the adviser should wait until 'an example he can recommend is offered privately at a reasonable price.'<sup>616</sup> Finally in exasperation Cockerall reminded the committee of a memorandum attached to a letter dated 12 October 1936 in which it was stated 'that the Gallery wall space is limited and the time has come to buy only the best whether of classic or modern paintings.'<sup>617</sup> Frustrated by the Trustees, Cockerall resigned as the Felton Adviser in 1939 and it was not until a decade later that the Trustees were recorded as saying 'Buy the best, reject the rest'.<sup>618</sup>

While Lindsay's appointment to the National Gallery of Victoria could not have happened at a more difficult time, his presence was pivotal in terms of the Gallery's future. His ability to maximise opportunities when art and culture had become inextricably mixed in the flux of war made this period challenging for him. His experience and knowledge of the local, national and international art markets provided opportunities for successful negotiations. One year after Lindsay became the director of the National Gallery, Ursula Hoff was appointed to the Gallery staff. Her extensive knowledge of the continental and British world of art and scholarship, and her international connections complemented and gave additional authority to Lindsay's values. Furthermore, when she became familiar with the Gallery's collection, she was the person Lindsay turned to — indeed, she was the only scholar at the Gallery who knew the great art of the past. The paradox, however, was that the presence of this young, fully qualified art historian, whose knowledge outweighed that of the combined National Gallery Trustees and Felton Committee members — men, who in Cockerall's opinion, 'were totally ignorant — just people who were rich or important'<sup>619</sup> — was barely acknowledged. It is not difficult to see that Hoff's 'behind the scenes' position was an important part of Lindsay's artillery in handling the Trustees.

<sup>615</sup> SLV/FBM, 9 April 1937, Book 7, PA 96/83.

<sup>616</sup> SLV/FBM, 23 April 1937, Book 7, PA. 96/83.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid, 29 April 1937.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid, 30 April 1947.

<sup>619</sup> Cockerall, in Cox, p.144.

### Relocating Art

Although during the war Lindsay was unable to acquire works on the international market, there were opportunities to purchase European works at home. Important masterpieces and modern art works had been brought into the country with émigrés and refugees escaping from Hitler and Mussolini's Europe. Most of these were easily transportable, small or lightweight objects, usually prints, drawings, watercolours and oil paintings or as miniature sculptures. After some consideration, Lindsay purchased three medieval German wooden sculptures from Mrs. Hedwig Ullman.<sup>620</sup> These limewood Franconian church sculptures had been part of the Ullman's substantial art collection in Frankfurt en Main. When the Ullman family arrived in Melbourne in 1939 the matriarch, Hedwig Ullman offered thirteen fifteenth and sixteenth century wooden carvings and a number of major paintings to the National Gallery of Victoria, including an Andrea della Robbia *Adoration* for £8000 and a Lucas Cranach the Elder *Madonna and Child* for £10,000.<sup>621</sup> A substantial part of the Ullman collection was stored in safe deposits in London under alias names, or with their London art dealer Arthur Kaufmann, and the Gallery Trustees had to consult the National Art Collection Fund (NACF) and experts in Britain and America for advice and current market prices before deciding on three medieval wooden figure sculptures.<sup>622</sup> (see plate 18)

In September 1943, six months after Ursula Hoff had commenced working at the Gallery, Lindsay referred the estate of Victor Singer to her. Singer was a German Jewish refugee who had arrived in Melbourne in 1937, but after his death in 1939, his family decided to sell part of his extensive art collection.<sup>623</sup> From this estate Hoff selected sixteen modern French and German etchings and lithographs, sixty-seven

<sup>620</sup> See above Chapter 2, p.74 . Albert Ullin, interview, 10 December 2002; Hoff, *European painting and sculpture*, 1973, pp.178–9, 271–2.

<sup>621</sup> See SLV/FBM, no.7, 20 October 1939. The NACF acted as an advisory body and in 1941 it did not approve sale or export of some of the Ullman collection. Claude Ullin, interview, 27 November 2002.

<sup>622</sup> Albert Ullin, interview 19 December 2002. The Ullman family anglicized their name to Ullin in 1940–1; Elinor Ullin, Hedwig's daughter-in-law was closely associated with the NGV and re-activated the Gallery guides in 1967.

<sup>623</sup> Conversations with David Segal, 26 May 2003 and Gerda Senman, 27 May 2003, the grandchildren of Victor and Berta Singer.

French nineteenth century caricatures and twenty-one English caricatures.<sup>624</sup> These were remarkable acquisitions for Hoff's first year at the Gallery, and more so given the stage of the war and the reactionary attitudes of the trustees towards modern art, be it European or Australian. The opportunity to assess the Singer collection, which Hoff considered 'all of a very good quality and in good condition',<sup>625</sup> enabled her to display mechanisms used by a trained art historian. In order to locate where, when and for how much these prints had been sold elsewhere, Hoff used sources such as the Carnegie Foundation catalogues and information from A. M. Hind, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. She also located a Swiss 1930 art dealer catalogue which informed her that the Käthe Kollwitz etching *Überfahren* – 'Run Over' – was rare, with an edition of 25 prints.<sup>626</sup> This small group of European prints were an important addition to the Gallery's European print collection and included fifteen Daumier caricatures, a Chagall, Toulouse Lautrec, two Pissaros, a Renoir, Pierre Bonnard lithographs and two Felix Vallotton woodcuts. (plate 36 & plate 17)

Other European refugees also contacted the Gallery hoping to sell works of art. In 1944, Ursula Hoff inspected the collection of Mr F.B. Lippman who had 'been fortunate in rescuing from Europe a part of [his] collection of etchings by well known artists'.<sup>627</sup> The focus on European works on paper activated by Hoff at the beginning of her appointment built on the already existent but small holding of exceptional European masterpieces. Eventually Hoff's programme of acquisitions resulted in an internationally reputable print collection, an accomplishment that the Gallery could not have achieved without her. During the rest of that decade and during the 1950s, Hoff put on many exhibitions of historical and contemporary British, European and Australian prints. In 1946, eighty-three students and visitors [had] used the study facility in the Print Room',<sup>628</sup> Fred Williams, John Brack and Noel Counihan were just a few who reaped inspiration from the European art coming into the collection. (plate 37) Other major prints acquired during these decades included Edvard Munch's *The Kiss*, a superb impression of Rembrandt's *Three Crosses*, Vanessa Bell's lithograph

<sup>624</sup> SLV/FBM, Book 7, May 1944, P.A 96/83.

<sup>625</sup> NGV/HP, Department of Prints and Drawings.

<sup>626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid.

<sup>628</sup> Report on the Print Department by Hoff, 30 September 1946, Ibid.

*Child with Book*, and a John Piper lithograph, *Yarnton Monument Oxon*, later illustrated in the international arts journal *Studio* in 1950. In 1955 Hoff had seen a Bernard Buffet lithograph illustrated in the May edition of *Studio* and wrote to the Felton Adviser in London asking him to purchase this print from the Redfern Galleries.<sup>629</sup> And in 1956 she purchased from the émigré Sydney art dealer Rudy Komon an Erich Heckel and a Max Pechstein woodcut. (plate 38)

Even before the war had ended, preparations were being made for a research and buying trip for Daryl Lindsay. In January 1945 Lindsay embarked upon a six-month trip to America, Britain and Europe.<sup>630</sup> This journey was not just to buy pictures, but 'to investigate modern trends of construction and lighting of art galleries and modern educational methods in connection with plans for the establishment of a new art centre.'<sup>631</sup> Lindsay covered vast cultural territory in order to meet directors, curators and conservators from many of the best and largest museums and galleries, including research laboratories and commercial art dealers. He received constructive comments and advice from John Walker, Director of the National Gallery in Washington, Theodore Sizer at Yale, and W. G. Constable, who had been the director of the Courtauld Institute in London during the 1930s. Constable had been appointed Keeper of Paintings at the Boston Museum of Fine Art and wrote to Daryl Lindsay after their meeting. His advice on the principles of post-war buying for museum collections was straightforward, but clearly directed at the smaller, provincial type of gallery: 'Sometimes a good example of a great man may be completely out of reach, but a first rate example of a lesser man may well serve ... a certain amount of elasticity seems to me nevertheless an advantage'.<sup>632</sup>

After consulting with American and British experts, Lindsay was able to assert confidently his buying policy for the National Gallery, and this was addressed in *The Quarterly Bulletin* of the National Gallery of Victoria in 1946. Lindsay wrote that

<sup>629</sup> Hoff to A.J.L. McDonnell, 23 September 1958, NGV/Hoff correspondence.

<sup>630</sup> This overseas trip was organised during the final stages of the war, with Keith Murdoch writing to Clive Turnbull who in turn asked Dr Evatt to organise a passage for Lindsay: 'If he could travel by air it would be a tremendous advantage in saving time ... Lindsay is assured that if Evatt agrees, the Americans will probably give him a berth'. NLA/KMP/MS. 2823/5/9.

<sup>631</sup> NGV Library, General press clippings, Vol. 8, 1937-48.

<sup>632</sup> Preliminary Report for the President and Trustees, National Gallery of Victoria by Daryl Lindsay, 1945, NLA/KMP/MS 2823, Box 9.

In consideration of the enormous prices paid to-day for the few Old Masters that occasionally come onto the market, it seems an impractical policy for us here in the Antipodes to try at this late stage to build up a collection on the great names of the past ... It is my considered opinion that the Australian public would be infinitely better catered for if we could concentrate on getting together small groups of highly representative period works, irrespective of names, and covering the important centuries of European culture, as an educational background to nineteenth and twentieth century painting.<sup>633</sup>

During his six months overseas, Lindsay purchased for the National Gallery of Victoria with Felton Bequest funds the magnificent Florentine miniature, *Profile of a Lady*, c. 1450-75, attributed to Paolo Uccello and offered by Agnews for £14,000.

Colin Agnew wrote to Keith Murdoch regarding this acquisition,

In purchasing this portrait your gallery has acquired a painting of the greatest beauty and an object of the greatest rarity. So far [as] one knows there is no Florentine portrait of this period (circa 1400) left in any private collection in Europe. The attribution of the painting to Uccello is I believe absolutely correct, and this opinion is confirmed by Sir Kenneth Clark.<sup>634</sup>

Lindsay's seasoned experience of art dealers, particularly the London ones, gave him great pleasure in the chase, and though capable and charming in dealing with them, his astute appraisal, an 'amalgam of instinct and experience',<sup>635</sup> cautioned his acceptance of some of their attributions. Writing to Murdoch, Lindsay revealed the dilemmas that he faced:

The authenticity of all these Florentine portraits has always been a cradle of speculation — some experts say one thing and some others very often change their views. But it is the genuine opinion in which Clark, Witt and Blunt are emphatic on — that it is by him.<sup>636</sup>

But could Lindsay trust these three? Clark, he felt was 'a strange bird who puts on too much of an act',<sup>637</sup> while it was the opinion of 'certain art dealers [that they] flatly refuse to submit work' to the National Art Collections Fund, of which Robert Witt was

<sup>633</sup> Daryl Lindsay, *The quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, i (no.4, 1946).

<sup>634</sup> Colin Agnew to Keith Murdoch, 8 August 1945, NLA/KMP. Patricia Simons attributes this portrait to the Verrochio circle in Florence between 1470s and the 1490s. See Patricia Simons, 'A profile portrait of a renaissance woman in the National Gallery of Victoria', *Art bulletin of Victoria* (no.28, 1987), 35-52.

<sup>635</sup> Henry S. Newland, 'Daryl Lindsay: the man' in Philipp and Stewart (eds), *In honour of Daryl Lindsay*, 6.

<sup>636</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Keith Murdoch, 31 July 1945, NLA/KMP.

<sup>637</sup> Lindsay to Murdoch, 9 July 1945, NLA/KMP/MS.2823/5/9.



the Chairman.<sup>638</sup> Lindsay after 'doing much digging and hard spadework'<sup>639</sup> and after visiting all the major dealers such as Wildensteins, Knoedlers, Colnaghi's, Reid and Lefevre, Christie's, Sotheby's and Agnews, finally settled on his purchases. These, apart from the Florentine Portrait attributed to Uccello were: the magnificent Ter Borch, *Lady with a Fan*, purchased from Wildensteins for £4000; the Augustus John *La Belle Jardinaire*, purchased from Knoedler & Co. for £750; and a fifteenth century French wood carving of Saint Barbara, purchased in New York from the Brummer Collection, and an addition to the Ullman woodcarvings. (plate 39 & plate 18)

Returning triumphant to Melbourne in August, and having established valuable connections in the American art world — something which Murdoch and Lindsay considered important, as New York was perceived as 'possibly supersed[ing] London as the world's art centre'<sup>640</sup> — Lindsay had no sooner regained his antipodean equilibrium than he was forced to 'take off the gloves'. After the new acquisitions arrived in Melbourne, photographs were released to the press, which brought with it an avalanche of criticism. Some were cautiously supportive of the new works of art, while others viciously attacked the National Gallery. The main charge thrower was none other than Lindsay's predecessor, J. S. MacDonald. His provocative prose lashed at 'the inefficiency of [international] art scholarship'.<sup>641</sup> The conflicting attributions by the experts provided MacDonald with the opportunity to push the voice of xenophobia and advocate a pro-Australian cultural policy. MacDonald's diatribe was also a public swipe at Sir Keith Murdoch, his *bête noir*, and his public debasement of the European masterpieces not only affected the public's perception of these works, but also dampened the euphoria that Lindsay, Murdoch and Hoff had felt. The anticipation and realization that once again magnificent European works of art were entering the Melbourne collection was an emotionally charged moment, and MacDonald's deflationary tactics were not only cruel but intended to destabilise the public's response.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid, Witt was not well liked and his reputation as a connoisseur was poor.

<sup>639</sup> Duncan McDonald of Reid & Lefevre to Keith Murdoch, 10 July, 1945, NLA/KMP/MS. 2823.

<sup>640</sup> Preliminary Report for the President and Trustees of the NGV, 1945, NLA/KMP/MS.2823/5/9.

<sup>641</sup> *Age*, 8 September 1945.

Even though MacDonald bemoaned poor scholarship in art historical research at an international level, this was no longer the situation at the National Gallery of Victoria, which now had its own internal scholar. Hoff's reputation as a young European art historian was recognised in Britain at the time, based on her expert cataloguing of the Henry Oppenheimer Collection of Old Master Drawings in 1936; her work on the bibliography of the catalogue for *English Medieval Wall Painting*, a contract received from the Antiquarian Society; her research as an assistant for the exhibition 'Seventeenth Century European Art in English Collections' at the Royal Academy; and the research she had done with Ludvig Burchard on his *Corpus Rubenaeum* in 1939.<sup>642</sup> Hoff took research seriously, upholding the measures of attribution, provenance and authenticity as cardinal rules. These were values that she meticulously applied to the collection of prints, drawings and European masterpieces at the National Gallery of Victoria throughout her long and dedicated career.

The publication of the Gallery's 1945 catalogue, largely a result of Hoff's labour, had nevertheless been restricted in 'detailed research' because of the absence of a critical reference library, as well as restrictions imposed on correspondence with international museums and experts during the war years. A tailored reference library was one of the first things that Hoff began to implement at the Gallery, especially after being informed of its proposed relocation to the Wirth Park site by the Yarra River. Again Sir Sidney Cockerall's influence was important. In a letter to Daryl Lindsay in June 1944, Cockerall advised Lindsay that the Director's office should be lined with reference books; 'these are wanted for immediate consultation and should not be miles away in the library – I mean monographs and all books relating to art.'<sup>643</sup> Progressively, and where finance permitted, Hoff purchased specialist and standard reference texts and gradually built up an art reference library at the National Gallery of Victoria.

The 1945 catalogue was followed in 1949 by the publication of a large hard-back, *Masterpieces of the National Gallery of Victoria* — a collaboration with Joan Lindsay and Alan McCulloch — replete with 119 full-page colour and black and white

<sup>642</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Amy McGrath, 9 July 1981.

<sup>643</sup> Cockerall to Daryl Lindsay, 4 June 1944, SLV/LFP/MS.9242/23-51.

reproductions. It was predominantly European works of art, with a smaller Australian section, but importantly this book broke new ground as the first major illustrated catalogue of an Australian public gallery. As a significantly more advanced form of scholarly research it still fell short of the Martin Davies style of cataloguing used by the National Gallery in London. Hoff continued to revise and improve this catalogue and by 1961 she had produced the first catalogue of the Gallery's *European Painting and Sculpture before 1800*, true to the Davies prototype. Through a continuing production of her publications, the National Gallery of Victoria began to attract an international audience.<sup>644</sup>

### A Modern Vision

In 1946 Daryl Lindsay outlined his vision for the National Gallery of Victoria. This included a revival of Cockerall's argument for a new art gallery. 'Every museum director today is faced with the problem of how to plan for the future in a fast-changing world ... Victoria is fortunate to have been promised a fine site at the entrance of the city'.<sup>645</sup> He also revealed his admiration for modern American architecture, technology and exhibition display. While his trip abroad had transformed him into a modern museum director, it had been Will Ashton, the Director of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, who had alerted Lindsay to the merits of American art galleries and the deficiencies of Australian ones.<sup>646</sup> Daryl Lindsay nevertheless had the capacity for critical evaluation and he selected what he considered was the best from American

<sup>644</sup> Hoff revised further editions in 1967 and 1973. In 1992, at the age of eighty-two she made her final revision of the catalogue, published in 1995.

<sup>645</sup> Daryl Lindsay, 'Planning for the future' in *Society of Artists Book*, 1945-46, Sydney, Ure Smith, 1946, p.22.

<sup>646</sup> Lindsay was not a pioneer in evaluating the state of American museums. On 10 January 1944, at a meeting of the Art Galleries Association of Australia and New Zealand held in Sydney, it was announced in the minutes that 'Mr Will Ashton of the Sydney Gallery [had] visited the USA and toured more than sixty museums', and had concluded that 'Australia had a lot to learn about bringing Museum and Galleries before the public'. NGV/HP.

museum design. Lindsay's genesis of an independent National Gallery of Victoria had begun. He wrote:

America is the home of modern museums, [and] has made great strides in remedying the mistakes of the past ... there is much to learn from American methods of lighting, moveable walls and the presentation of exhibits ...<sup>647</sup>

Lindsay was critical, however, of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, stating that it 'already looks dated. The gallery of the future,' Lindsay proclaimed, 'should be simple and dignified in design and sufficiently flexible in layout to allow for changing ideas of presentation, and above all should not look dated'.<sup>648</sup> But Lindsay took his reform further, challenging the Commonwealth Government to assist with the cost of staffing an institution which he knew could only succeed in aspiring to international standards when 'a really functional museum or gallery is dependent not only on a fine building and the high standard of its exhibits. It is equally dependent on ... expert staff, which are the machinery by which a collection is made to come alive and put across to the public'.<sup>649</sup>

Through his association with numerous professional art men in England and later in America, and as a confidante to several Felton Advisers when he lived in England during the 1930s, Lindsay had acquired a knowledge of what constituted a great museum and gallery, what went on behind the walls and how major art institutions ran their educational, curatorial and funding schemes.<sup>650</sup> With only a professional staff of just two, himself and Ursula Hoff, he had to rely on voluntary labour from cultural aficionados such as his wife Joan, Alan McCullough, Adrian Lawlor, George Bell, Una Teague, Arnold Shore, Stephanie Taylor and the respected, self-taught historian Percival Serle.<sup>651</sup> A number of academics, such as the Professor of History at the University of Melbourne R.M. Crawford and the Professor of Classics at the University of Sydney, A.D. Trendall, also contributed to the Gallery's educational

<sup>647</sup> Daryl Lindsay, 'Planning for the future', p.22.

<sup>648</sup> Ibid.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid.

<sup>650</sup> Daryl Lindsay, *The leafy tree*, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1965, p.126.

<sup>651</sup> Percival Serle assisted on an honorary basis but his connection to the Gallery extended back to 1924 when Bernard Hall had asked him to catalogue the Connell collection and exhibits in the Verdon Gallery. In 1933 Serle was appointed Curator of the Art Museum on 'a one day a week job at a salary of £2', but his position was terminated when J.S. MacDonald became director in October 1936. See Geoffrey Serle, *Percival Serle: a memoir*, Canberra, Brindabella Press, 1988.

lecture programme.<sup>652</sup> It was not until 1950 that Gordon Thomson was seconded from the Education Department as the Gallery's education officer, though Albert Southam and John Brack had been employed as technical framing staff earlier.<sup>653</sup>

During his fifteen years as director Daryl Lindsay was more powerful than any other in the Gallery's history.<sup>654</sup> His success can be attributed to a number of things. He was attuned to the needs of the institution and was highly capable in managing the trustees; he had the undivided attention and support of Sir Keith Murdoch; and he was able to measure the moods of the art world. Furthermore, he was charismatic and 'a man of great sensitivity, versatility and unerring taste', as Dame Elisabeth Murdoch described Lindsay.<sup>655</sup> Exactly how much Lindsay relied on Hoff is hard to say, but she was certainly influential through her research and advice on European acquisitions, and tempered Lindsay's preferences for British art. She had been critical of the Felton activities in the modern field, even though 'some fine things such as the Modigliani, Matisse and Delauney were bought'.<sup>656</sup> Lindsay never hesitated in praising her qualities; 'she's a grand person – with the standing of the Gallery here – more than I can say'.<sup>657</sup> But to a wider audience, Hoff's reserved manner did much to vitiate her importance. Such reserve was understandable in a chauvinistic workplace. The Gallery had always operated under the Dickensian mantle of the Victorian Public Service, which ensured that women were either servers or ornaments. In order to get Hoff employed at the Gallery, Lindsay had to argue that her excellent qualifications would provide the Gallery with expertise that existed nowhere else in Australia. The board of the Public Service, however, obstructed Hoff's appointment, even when Lindsay pointed out that with Hoff on the staff the National Gallery of Victoria could significantly improve its understanding of its valuable European collections.<sup>658</sup>

<sup>652</sup> Report of the National Gallery of Victoria, 30 September 1946, NGV/HP.

<sup>653</sup> John Brack was appointed assistant framemaker in 1949. The staff, apart from Lindsay, would meet for morning and afternoon tea in the framing area, where Hoff and Brack discussed recent publications and views on art. Hoff encouraged Brack to engage intellectually with art historical issues, and Brack's knowledge of the local art scene assisted Hoff in understanding and familiarising herself with the contemporary Melbourne art scene. Helen Maudsley, interview, 2 March 2000.

<sup>654</sup> Hoff has repeatedly stressed this view, as has James Mollison.

<sup>655</sup> Dame Elisabeth Murdoch, *Sun*, 29 December 1976.

<sup>656</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Haese, 1975, SLV, Oral History Collection.

<sup>657</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Kenneth Clark, 9 March 1950, TGA/KCP.

<sup>658</sup> For Lindsay's version of Hoff's appointment see *Leafy tree*, p.146.

Through clever persistence Lindsay finally succeeded in appointing her — but as a final show of disapproval and discrimination towards this ‘foreign woman’ — a new position was created of Assistant Keeper of Prints, which saw her commence on the lowest possible wage that the Public Service could offer for a woman. Despite this, Hoff accepted, even though ‘she knew what she was up against’, because the Gallery was where she wanted to be.<sup>659</sup> It was another five years before her position was re-evaluated and she was entitled to wage increments.

The professional relationship that developed between Ursula Hoff, Daryl Lindsay and A. J. McDonnell, who became the Gallery’s Felton Adviser after the war (1947–63) was one of the most productive in the Gallery’s history. Together, they worked to fill important gaps and the collection increased dramatically in size. Major European works acquired, particularly between 1945 and 1956, are amongst the most outstanding in the Gallery’s history and made it a truly ‘golden period’. Ironically, it was ‘the modern German trauma’ of the Second World War that was responsible for the movement of private art works onto the commercial market, thus providing an unprecedented opportunity to acquire European masterpieces. For the second time in the Felton Bequest’s history its affluence had given the director access into the high end of the international market, and Lindsay admitted that he could not have achieved what he did without Hoff — ‘she really is an admirable person and there are not enough of her like in the country’.<sup>660</sup>

### **Ursula Hoff: Museology and Masterpieces**

Soon after her arrival in Melbourne, Ursula Hoff had visited the National Gallery of Victoria in Swanston Street. Her hope of finding a collection which would ease the burden of her isolation was immensely important, as art helped her to transcend the

<sup>659</sup> Hoff, interview, 26 August 1999.

<sup>660</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Kenneth Clark, n.d., TGA/KCP/MS 8812.

new or complex social situations that were part of different cultures, be it London or the small cultural hub of Melbourne. The National Gallery of Victoria was to become her cathedral, a place of solace and cultural worship, and she soon found reverie amongst some of the more outstanding works on display. Several major European masterpieces had been lent to the National Gallery of Victoria for the duration of the war, including Cézanne's *Cour d'une femme* from the Louvre in Paris. This and other post-impressionist European works had been part of the *Herald* Exhibition of Modern French and British Art held at the Melbourne Town Hall in October 1939.<sup>661</sup> Organised by Basil Burdett — who had sourced, selected and met artists such as Ferdinand Léger, Maurice de Vlaminck and 'the greatest legend in Paris', Pablo Picasso<sup>662</sup> — this exhibition had given Australian artists and the public a chance of visually participating in impressionist and modern paintings on a scale not hitherto experienced. A series of lectures given by George Bell, Arnold Shore, William Frater, Adrian Lawlor, Madge Freeman, Ola Cohn, Norman MacGeorge, John Reed, and Gino Nibbi on the importance of European modern art further consolidated the aims of the young Australian modernists who had exhibited with the Contemporary Art Society at the National Gallery in the previous June.<sup>663</sup> Richard Haese considered the *Herald* exhibition neither radical nor truly representative of modernism, but it informed and created 'a groundswell of enthusiasm' where viewers were able to sense a liberation that accompanied new and creative ways of seeing and responding to a rapidly changing world.<sup>664</sup> Another exhibition of British art had also arrived in late 1939 from London's Empire Art Loan Collection and this one was exhibited at the National Gallery. The large 'Empire' exhibition of over 200 paintings, watercolours and drawings, displayed, in one art critic's view, 'the most brilliant products of the Slade School of post-impressionism'<sup>665</sup> and included works by Walter Sickert, Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, Eric Gill and John Nash. Taken in conjunction with the *Herald*

<sup>661</sup> In 1942, twenty-two works that had been part of the *Herald* Exhibition were exhibited at the NGV.

<sup>662</sup> See Jan Gerraty, 'Basil Burdett: critic and entrepreneur', BA. (Hons) dissertation, Monash University, 1978, p.27.

<sup>663</sup> Ibid, p.44.

<sup>664</sup> Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.63.

<sup>665</sup> John Harcourt, art critic, *Argus*, 31 October 1939.

exhibition it offered local artists an extraordinary opportunity of seeing first-rate art by modern international artists.

While these exhibitions took place just prior to Hoff's arrival in Melbourne, she would nevertheless have discussed the impact that they had created; indeed their effect had been similar to the modern European exhibitions that she had witnessed in London during the mid to late 1930s. Most of the works exhibited in the *Herald* Exhibition had been painted up to fifty years before, such as the Cézanne pictures, but some were more recent, such as Marie Laurencin's painting *France* of 1939 and a Picasso, *Guitare et vase de Fleurs*, dated 1934.<sup>666</sup> Ursula Hoff understood this new art and how it offered a revolutionary perception appropriate for the 'New World'. Modernist works, on the whole, involved rejection of the academic and a replacement of the image with a sensual or brutal expressive gesture or, as Hoff wrote later of Post-Impressionism, that the 'medium triumphed over the subject' or that colour acted as a sensory stimulant.<sup>667</sup> Where realism and traditional works of art transported the spectator to the intentional sublime, modernism elevated the senses to the accidental sublime.<sup>668</sup> One of the authorities associated with the *Herald* exhibition, Lionello Venturi, wrote that 'The only necessary condition' in viewing the exhibition 'is the avoidance of prejudice, and a certain skepticism about the laws of art'.<sup>669</sup>

However reassuring it was for Hoff to see modernism in the antipodes, probably more exciting and certainly consoling was a display of sixty-four Rembrandt etchings and a selection of old master drawings that Daryl Lindsay had mounted in March 1940. Amongst these she found the Rembrandt and del Sarto drawings that she had catalogued for the Oppenheimer sale in London in 1936. (plates 13 & 14) The Gallery's thirty-six William Blake watercolours followed. These had been purchased from the great Linnell sale of Blake's drawings, watercolours and etchings at Christies in London in 1918. They had rarely been shown since their arrival in Melbourne in 1921,<sup>670</sup> and their colours were considered as fresh as when the artist had painted these parables to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Through these old master prints and drawings and

<sup>666</sup> Catalogue, *Herald exhibition of French and British contemporary art*.

<sup>667</sup> Hoff, 'Modern art in American collections', undated lecture, c 1960, NGV/HP.

<sup>668</sup> The *Herald* exhibition changed many Australian artists' and layperson's concept of art.

<sup>669</sup> Catalogue of the *Herald* Exhibition.

<sup>670</sup> Hoff, *The Felton Bequest*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1983, p.12.



Blake's symbolic images, Hoff was intellectually reunited with her European past. The performative nature of art and its function of engaging the spectator with snapshots of his or her past, or its ability to create psychological or noetic exchanges is well known.<sup>671</sup> Aware of how an image can spark memories or 'objects of experience', perhaps these small masterpieces of Europe's heritage acted like pages of Hoff's past, fragments of the Old World. This mechanism of sight, sensation and memory reminded her of other continents, cultures and different social conditions. The Rembrandt prints would have activated memories of her training with Fritz Saxl in Hamburg and of her doctoral research on Rembrandt.<sup>672</sup> The connection with her past through the visual image nevertheless reinvigorated her present, and she was able to use these works as a prop to 'define [her] identity against identity',<sup>673</sup> of re-asserting the self within an alien environment.

When Ursula Hoff was writing the *Masterpieces of the National Gallery of Victoria* in 1947–8 she committed eight pages to William Blake, reflecting on the importance of that artist in the history of British and modern art. Blake's sensitive, mystic disposition gave his imagery a transcendence which marked him apart from his contemporaries as an innovative explorer of religious and classical literature, a style which broke with the English 'rule of rationalism' and taste.<sup>674</sup> But equally, Hoff's attention to Blake's marvellous, gothic nightmares and 'fantasies of the infernal',<sup>675</sup> may be interpreted in a contemporary, allegoric vein. Hoff wrote of Blake's pictures as an interpretation of 'rulers and oppressors', and it would be plausible to associate many of the *Inferno* images as bearing a universalist message of injustice and retribution.<sup>676</sup> For example Blake's haunting watercolour *The Vestibule of Hell and the Souls*

<sup>671</sup> Barbara Stafford, *Visual Analogy: consciousness as the art of connecting*, Cambridge, Massachusetts Press, 1999, and Stafford, 24 September 2003, seminar, University of Melbourne. See E. H Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*.

<sup>672</sup> On Hoff's doctoral thesis *Rembrandt und England*, see pp. 32 and 61 above.

<sup>673</sup> Steiner, *In Bluebeard's castle*, p.46. Steiner's reference is to Hegel and the definition of the personality. In Hoff's case, where her life had been subjected to multiple assailants, the retreat into silent shadows was a form of camouflage and protection at times of insecurity.

<sup>674</sup> Hoff, *The Melbourne Dante illustrations by William Blake*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1961, pp.1–2.

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid*, p.47.

<sup>676</sup> *Ibid*, p.2.

*Mustering to Cross the Acheron* is an image that most surely could have paralleled the exodus of Jews from Europe. (plate 40)

Hoff's metempiric interest in artists who were able to display the 'visible symbols of their thoughts' allowed her to flex her knowledge of art, philosophy and history. Artists such as Blake, Rembrandt and Dürer offered an interaction with their world and she was able to apply Panofsky's theory of iconography in which 'concrete connections, facts and comparisons' were established. She enjoyed investigating the lives of such artists and placing them within the great linear trope of time, the 'Panofskian perspective', which revealed the continuum of influences from one artist to the next. In the 1950s when Hoff was lecturing to students she would analyse the artist's imagery and imbed it within historical reflections. For her, Blake crossed national boundaries through his eclectic harvest of borrowed images, reassembled to create a new visual voice. Her own transmigratory life, a result of displacement, also assumed a sense of belonging elsewhere, and explained why she may have enjoyed the cognitive experience of formal and graphic interpretation. Thus she was able to correlate Picasso with Rembrandt, artists some three hundred years apart, who used themselves, their wives and models as primary sources, creating 'immensely rich poetry' within the transformation of reality.<sup>677</sup> Her substantial research on artists such as Rembrandt, Dürer and Blake continued throughout her career, and she constantly updated and included new views in her lectures and publications.<sup>678</sup> This was also a way of informing local and international artists and scholars of the exceptional holdings of works in the Gallery.

Daryl Lindsay's invitation to Hoff to give a series of lunchtime lectures at the Gallery in 1942 had been the breakthrough she needed. Publicly, these lectures established her as a scholar of Western European art, but they also introduced her to a wider group of people interested in the arts. With wartime restrictions on electricity, these lectures were programmed for midday and hoped to maximise the lunchtime audience. As Hoff guided her assembled listeners to gaze back over historical and

<sup>677</sup> A lecture given by Hoff in 1957 to the Fine Arts students at the University of Melbourne was titled 'Graphic art of the School of Paris'; she makes the comparison between Rembrandt and Picasso.

<sup>678</sup> James Mollison recalled that Burke 'would give the same lecture year in, year out' whereas Hoff would always incorporate new material since the previous lecture on the same subject; Mollison, interview, 9 September 1999.

cultural time, this young, nervous German scholar impressed some, but by no means all. John Reed, Melbourne's advocate for the avant-garde and modernism, wrote of his visit to the National Gallery to listen to one of Hoff's lectures. His hostility towards Hoff reveals his propensity towards an emotional engagement with art rather than the formal approach advocated by a continentally trained scholar:

Went up to hear Ursula Hoff and didn't like her: didn't like the way she spoke and she didn't say anything of more than trivial interest at least not while I was there. She might just as well have been talking about a plumber. The Rotunda was packed — must have been well over 200 — and Daryl introduced her saying how lucky we were etc. etc.... Daryl looked aggressive and unpleasant... Tom Seward ... said wasn't she good and I said no, bad and that she had failed to get any feeling through at all. He is a friend of Daryl's.<sup>679</sup>

This also illustrates the conflicts endemic in the Melbourne art world at this time. Reed's rejection of Hoff flowed from his intense dislike of Daryl Lindsay and the National Gallery of Victoria, which Reed considered a 'moribund', archaic establishment, led by the elite and manipulated by Lindsay, whose rejection of avant-garde and modern art made him the enemy of the free and the radical.<sup>680</sup>

When Ursula Hoff was appointed to the National Gallery of Victoria Eileen Giblin wrote a letter of congratulation: 'I always felt that your job at the College could not have been really congenial, that it was alien to you, and only a makeshift to carry you on, until something turned up'.<sup>681</sup> Hoff's appointment broke new ground in Australia, as she was the first qualified art historian to work within a state gallery, but also the first female curator, a position which would help shape the roles of women in museums for generations to come.<sup>682</sup> Hoff's sense of identity at this time came partly through the shared space with Daryl Lindsay. Their friendship dramatically assisted in Hoff's process of 'de-alienation', and Lindsay's trust, need and pleasure at having her in the Gallery signified her position of acceptance within Melbourne's 'glass bead' society. But it is understandable why certain individuals like John Reed disliked her

<sup>679</sup> John Reed to Sunday Reed, 5 March [c. 1943], Barrett Reid and Nancy Underhill (eds.), *Letters of John Reed: defining Australian cultural life, 1920-1981*, Melbourne, Viking, 2001, p.203.

<sup>680</sup> For an insight into John Reed, see Haese, *Rebels and precursors*, p.228 and Reid and Underhill (eds.), *Letters of John Reed*, pp.3-5.

<sup>681</sup> Eileen Giblin to Hoff, 9 August 1943, WCA.

<sup>682</sup> Bernard Smith was seconded as an education officer at the AGNSW from 1944 and after his return from London in 1951.

public persona because she presented herself as enigmatic, prudent, discreet and dignified. This was a reflection of her upper middle class and Germanic upbringing, one which nevertheless had always been tainted by 'never belonging' — to Germany, to England or to the Jews. This melancholic *vita solitaria* characterised much of her life. Furthermore, when Hoff began working at the National Gallery, it was not generally accepted for women to display individuality within the workplace, and Hoff remained a woman of the corridors, framed by what Pierre Bourdieu calls 'The principle of inferiority and exclusion of women ... the principle division of the whole universe', one of '*subject and object, agent and instrument*, which is set up between men and women in the domain of symbolic exchanges.'<sup>683</sup> Hoff was seen as an employee and more inferior still because she was a continental woman. The first examples of the process of 'normal and honorable' identification came through Daryl Lindsay's efforts at enlisting Hoff to lecture both at the National Gallery and at regional galleries, and to submit reports to the Trustees. By the late 1940s Hoff's position had been re-classified to Keeper of Prints, and on Sir Kenneth Clark's visit to Australia in 1949 her reputation was substantially elevated by Clark's praise and endorsement of her as the Gallery's intellectual guide to its marvellous collection of European masterpieces.<sup>684</sup>

Hoff was left to work in the Print Room at her own pace and initiative, and as a curator she saw her role as largely based upon keepership. Given the skeletal staffing of the Gallery in the 1940s and 1950s her position expanded well beyond that duty and included providing educational resources for the scholar, the student, the informed public and the community. As she expressed it:

The curator is by definition of his duties required to be not only a scholar but a mediator between his institution and the general public, and is often so burdened with demands on his time that he does not get beyond the card index entry, the report recommending a new acquisition and the preparation of the

<sup>683</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature*, edited by Randal Johnson, Cambridge, Polity, 1993, p.42.

<sup>684</sup> See Kenneth Clark, 'The idea of a great gallery' in Philipp and Stewart (eds), *In honour of Daryl Lindsay*, 8–19. In Clark's references he acknowledges Hoff no less than ten times, and considers her scholarship and authority extremely important.

next exhibition. A museum curator can only function as an art historian if the allocation of his duties is favourable towards time for research.<sup>685</sup>

The vast collection of the National Gallery presented her with an enormous challenge in reorganisation, cataloguing and display. Foremost was the task of sorting through the heavy drawers and boxes of prints, drawings and photographs, cataloguing and implementing a card indexing system with 'up to date methods'. She also took over the administration of the loan collection and 'the supervision of the stock books.'<sup>686</sup> These books gave the briefest information concerning the works of art that had entered the Gallery, sometimes only the title of the work and its size was all she had to go on to identify a work of art. As she began the slow process of sorting and prioritising the pictures into 'primary' and 'secondary' works,<sup>687</sup> she would transfer onto the card index system fuller attribution details of title, date, name of artist, medium, size and date of acquisition, donor and previous owners and price paid. The serious intellectual endeavor of purposefully working through thousands of paintings, prints and drawings in the manner and method of her European training gave the Gallery a considerable advantage over the other state galleries in Australia, namely the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney and the Art Gallery of South Australia in Adelaide. The only other state gallery to introduce modern cataloguing methods was the Art Gallery of New South Wales when Bernard Smith, after returning from England in 1951, began cataloguing their Australian painting collection in the Martin Davies format.<sup>688</sup>

For Hoff, the intense research was rewarding, and she considered herself extremely fortunate in continuing what had begun with Saxl at the Hamburg *Kunsthalle* and her research at the British Museum in London. She also understood the mechanisms of British and continental print and drawing departments and how they should be run, and together with Daryl Lindsay established principles of collection management that put the Gallery to the forefront in national terms.

In 1943 Hoff began a series of lectures at the regional art galleries, women's clubs and secondary schools at Ballarat, Castlemaine, Bendigo and the bucolic ladies

<sup>685</sup> Hoff, transcript of a speech given at an Art Association conference in 1974, titled 'The use of art history in the museum'. NLA/MS 3471, Manuscript section.

<sup>686</sup> Report of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 1943-44. SLV.

<sup>687</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Richard Haese, 1975, SLV/OHC.

<sup>688</sup> Bernard Smith, interview, 26 August 2000.

college, Clyde, at Mt Macedon.<sup>689</sup> The school magazine of Clarendon Presbyterian Ladies College in Ballarat, *The Touchstone*, indicated the type of naive and 'proper' audience that she encountered on such a lecture circuit:

Dr. Hoff's visit was doubly appreciated owing to the fact that we have very few opportunities of increasing our knowledge of the particular branch of art which she discussed. Dr. Hoff took as her subject Painting and its Development through the Ages, beginning with some pre-Renaissance artists, most of which were ecclesiastical in subject. Next she showed us some of the famous paintings by Renaissance artists, among them being 'The Birth of Venus' by Botticelli; an outstanding characteristic of which was the delicacy of the flowers. We also saw an example of the work of Leonardo da Vinci, which was notable for the sweetness of expression of the Madonna's face. Rembrandt was another artist examples of whose work we saw. We noticed particularly the skilful use of the contrast of the sunshine out of doors with the dark shadows of the interior of a typical Dutch home.<sup>690</sup>

In 1945 Hoff lectured to students at the Keilor School of Army Education. This coincided with a commission she received to write a small booklet for the Australian Army Educational Service that dealt with the history and appreciation of Western art, design and architecture.<sup>691</sup> The book *Art Appreciation* was accompanied by a set of 140 reproductions which 'covered the most important Western painters' and Hoff, in her lucid didactic way, covered areas such as 'design', 'beauty' 'imitation of nature', 'distortion', 'perspective', 'movement', 'expression of emotion', 'illusion of space', 'inherent form', 'cubic shapes', the 'Japanese woodcut' and 'subject subordination'. Hoff used two contemporary art historical books around which she crafted her booklet, *European Painting and Sculpture* by Eric Newton, published in 1945 and *An Outline of European Architecture* by Nikolaus Pevsner, first published in 1943, thus illustrating through the authority of other scholars, her views on the reasons and the importance for stylistic changes from medieval European art to present-day Australian artists such as William Dobell. Hoff concluded her arguments on art in education with an overview of the roles of the National Galleries in Australia, the importance of

<sup>689</sup> This was Joan Lindsay's (née Weigall) old school on which she based her book *Picnic at Hanging Rock* on.

<sup>690</sup> *The Touchstone*, December 1943, p.11. Hoff's visit was on the 30 March 1943. I am grateful to Dawn Palmer for drawing my attention to this information.

<sup>691</sup> The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Sir John Medley, was the director of Army Education, and may have helped get this commission for Hoff. Erwin Fabian, a German 'Dunera boy', was employed in this unit as a graphic designer and probably met Hoff at this time

Britain's Council for the Encouragement of Art (CEMA) and its Australian equivalent.<sup>692</sup> But she took the issue further and mentioned the importance of the artist in countries such as Russia and America, citing the American 'nation-wide Federal Arts Project', and how these countries not only encouraged art within the community but endowed the artist with special and 'secure social status'.<sup>693</sup>

The Gallery lunch-time lectures were successful and by 1945 had become a regular event, held every first and third Thursday of the month at 1.15pm. Presented by the Gallery staff, which by 1947 included John Brack and Arnold Shore, other artists and intellectuals included George Bell, Adrian Lawlor, Eleanore Lange. These lectures were designed to educate and popularise the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, but they also laid the foundation for the employment of education officers.<sup>694</sup>

Though Hoff's curatorial work was demanding, in 1947 she agreed to join the new Department of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne.<sup>695</sup> Employed on a part-time basis, she lectured mostly after 5 pm to evening students, and her intellectual contribution was seen in terms of critical insight into contextual and linear development rather than theoretical discourse. Her interpretation of works of art was based upon proven and identifiable sources, and she rarely expanded into the realm of conceptual problems.<sup>696</sup> What distinguished Hoff from her fellow scholars Franz Philipp and Joseph Burke in the discipline of art history was her inheritance of the iconographical Warburgian/Hamburg school of Germanic inquiry into aesthetics, combined with her experience of English connoisseurship and curatorship. This gave Hoff a formidable presence and, even though she was part-time, her scholarship

<sup>692</sup> Hoff may be referring to the AGNSW traveling exhibitions of 1944 or to the Army reconstruction schemes.

<sup>693</sup> Hoff, *Art appreciation*, Melbourne, Army Education Service, 1945 [Photocopy in the author's possession].

<sup>694</sup> This occurred in 1950 when Gordon Thomson was seconded from the Education Department to the NGV, to assist in advancing and stimulating the awareness of art amongst schools and the community.

<sup>695</sup> The Victorian Public Service may have imposed restrictions on Hoff having a second paid job, but although Burke refers to a system of exchange, whereby the University would provide scholarly articles and give reciprocal lectures at the Gallery in exchange for Hoff's lecturing, she was paid for her lectures. UMA/312, Central Administration files.

<sup>696</sup> After Hoff had retired from the National Gallery of Victoria she resumed lecturing at the Department of Fine Arts at the University. In 1974 she lectured on 'German modern art', coinciding with the Hirschfeld-Feininger exhibition held at the NGV. In 1974 she delivered a lecture to the advanced Honours year on 'The genesis of modern art historical theory and method, including the Vienna School and later developments', possibly using Philipp's notes. UMA/HP.

provided a balance to Philipp's complex, erudite but difficult locutionary lectures, and to Burke's more popular, art historical generalities.

By the end of the decade, Hoff was settled and optimistic about her life and professional status in Australia. She spoke of this period as one in which 'things went forward and improved, while I came from countries where things went down and got worse... altogether life was very exciting.'<sup>697</sup>

In June 1949 Hans Leopold Hoff died and Ursula Hoff requested four months leave of absence 'to go to England to assist her mother' and attend to her father's estate.<sup>698</sup> This London period was extended further when John McDonnell, the Felton Adviser, took leave of absence and returned to Australia. During these months in London, Hoff was appointed as the Felton's London expert on prints and drawings, though she was only given funds of £500 to purchase European works on paper in conjunction with Harold Wright of Colnaghis.<sup>699</sup> Acquiring a large group of prints and drawings from Colnaghis, she found a Jean Etienne Liotard chalk drawing, *A Lady in a Turkish Dress*. (plate 41) The Liotard drawing represented the transitional phase of change in artistic styles from the French Rococo to the 'classicism and naturalism of the nineteenth century'.<sup>700</sup> It shows the quixotic combination of a refined European lady dressed in a Turkish costume, reclining and reading on a comfortable ottoman. The pose and costume — usually the artist's suggestion — reveals that phase of European fascination with Orientalism as an alternative lifestyle. It was a world that 'conjured up dreams of a life, more colourful, less artificial, less conventional, in short, more 'natural' than that of eighteenth century French society'.<sup>701</sup> An interesting tension lies in the combination of the exotic with a controlled intensity, something that appealed to Hoff's sense of 'the other'. Indeed, her life in Melbourne up to this point had also been characterised by less artificiality, less convention and 'more natural' than any other time in her life. In her report to the Trustees she revealed her high

<sup>697</sup> Hoff, interviewed by McGrath, 1989.

<sup>698</sup> Hoff returned to Melbourne in April 1950 and her mother followed in August 1950. On Hoff's appointment as the Felton Adviser in 1975, both women returned to London, where Frau Hoff died in 1978 aged 93. Hoff continued her London appointment until 1984.

<sup>699</sup> Trustees Minutes, 6 October 1949, National Gallery of Victoria Library.

<sup>700</sup> Hoff, *The quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, v (no.2, 1951).

<sup>701</sup> Ibid.



estimation of the work and the enormous pride and excitement at purchasing such a masterpiece.

The Liotard drawing is a work of the finest aesthetic merit, wrought in a highly accomplished technique. The results of many preliminary studies it is an example of high finish which is not represented by any other drawing of the Print Room collection. The drawing is a perfect example of exquisite taste allied to meticulous craftsmanship. Drawings of this calibre are becoming increasingly rare, most fine drawings have by now become the property of public collections... this drawing was the only first class drawing I encountered during my four months in London.<sup>702</sup>

Hoff had used her expertise to purchase the best from what was available in London at the time, and this made an impact on many London dealers and some of her old acquaintances from the Warburg Institute.

Sir Alexander Stewart, one of the Felton committee members, queried Hoff further on her process of evaluation and what criteria constituted her choice of prints. Hoff had replied:

I made a careful study of prints and drawings available at such London dealers as P. & D. Colnaghi, Thos. Agnew and Sons, Craddock and Barnard, Redfern Gallery, Rowland, Browse and Delbanco, Calman and others. I decided to concentrate in the main on a group of 16<sup>th</sup> century work for two reasons. (a) Minor Renaissance masters are at present good value for their money. Their price has not been inflated by arbitrary fashion. The Renaissance prints chosen are of a high aesthetic merit and were available in examples of first-rate quality of preservation, and (b) a group of Northern Renaissance engravings would give us an opportunity of showing our fine Dürer collection in its contemporary setting. Some Italian coloured woodcuts help to round off the picture of the period (Italian coloured woodcuts form a considerable part of the recent acquisitions of the British Museum Print Room).<sup>703</sup>

The eight months back in London marked a turning point in Hoff's life. She had spent ten years in Australia adjusting to an intellectual and physical freedom that she had only briefly experienced in her *wanderjahr* as a student in Europe. The ten years in Melbourne had provided a respite from anxieties associated with her parents and her own sense of European individuality within a British culture. Australia had consolidated her professional purpose and direction and this gave her a confidence to meet colleagues and dealers with a new authority which she savoured. However,

<sup>702</sup> Hoff, Report to the Felton Committee, 4 May 1950, The Felton Bequest Minute Book 7, SLV.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid.

reunited with her mother, Hoff's independence dissipated and she found herself once more bound by a strict filial contract, marked by duty and companionship. She returned to Australia in April 1950, and the change in her personal circumstances coincided with a decade of intense research and publications. Her important article for *Meanjin* in 1951, 'Reflections on the Heidelberg School, 1885-1900', announced that she was ready to assess seriously Australian art within an historical context.<sup>704</sup> This was followed in 1953 with a critical view of contemporary Australian artists in 'Content and form in modern art'.<sup>705</sup> In 1956 she produced 'The phases of McCubbin's art' and in 1958 'The paintings of Arthur Boyd'.<sup>706</sup> She also had been preparing material for her book *Charles Conder: His Australian years*, which was published in 1960.

Her attention to Australian art and artists not only reflected her confidence and enjoyment in local friendships with Arthur Boyd, John and Helen Brack, Eric Thake and Helen Ogilvie, but reflects a shift towards the regional rather than the international. While major European works were scarce, the acquisition of the Barlow collection of Dürer prints in 1956 was a welcome return to her beloved northern German art. Hoff wrote a major article for *Meanjin* on this collection in 1957, and from around 1956 John McDonnell had raised the topic of a 'proper catalogue' on the Gallery's Old Masters:

I think Dr Hoff should do a catalogue. She is thoroughly qualified to do so, she knows the pictures, is enthusiastic, all things which should be encouraged. She thinks she should have six months in Europe to do the necessary work ... A first rate catalogue is really very desirable not least from the point of view of prestige abroad.<sup>707</sup>

Ursula Hoff had already begun drawing up a list in her own hand of what she considered to be the Gallery's most important masterpieces for the very purpose of a major catalogue.<sup>708</sup> These included Rubens' *Hercules and Anateus*, Van Dyck's *Countess of Southampton*, which Australia had been given preference to purchase

<sup>704</sup> Hoff, 'Reflections', 125-33.

<sup>705</sup> Hoff, 'Content and form in modern art', *Meanjin*, xii (no.4, Summer 1953), 449-50.

<sup>706</sup> Hoff, 'The phases of McCubbin's art', *Meanjin*, xv (no.3, Spring 1956), 301-6; Hoff, 'The paintings of Arthur Boyd', *Meanjin*, xvii (no.2, 1958), 143-7.

<sup>707</sup> A.J.L. McDonnell to Burke, 7 August 1956, UMA/BP.

<sup>708</sup> NGV/Hoff correspondence, 1954-55.

over American bidders, as its owner Lady Lucas was anxious that the picture remain in the Empire.<sup>709</sup> Poussin's *Crossing of the red sea*, Lorrain's *Landscape with a flight to Egypt*, Tiepolo's brilliant *Banquet of Cleopatra*, Constable's *Hampstead Heath*, Daumier's *Don Quixote Reading*, Puvis de Chavanne's *Winter*, Pissaro's *Boulevard Montmartre*, and Corot's *Bent Tree*, the last a particular favourite of Daryl Lindsay and Ursula Hoff.<sup>710</sup> In 1961 Hoff produced *European Paintings and sculpture before 1800*. (plate 42)

### A Chair and a Social Contract

In the immediate years after the Second World War, Australian societies were bristling with ideas, avidly recruiting men for new jobs, and enlisting diplomats and ex-service men to head new departments. Reconstruction and the promise of a New World order was yearned after the fear and restraint of the war years.

Education in Australia attracted considerable attention and education in art found an energetic place within the proposed new structures. The Chair of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne was one of the more ambitious concepts for tertiary education and the origin of the idea is of some interest. Daryl Lindsay claimed that he raised the issue with Sir Keith Murdoch and Sir John Medley one evening over dinner at the Melbourne Club. Lindsay had been lamenting the lack of professional staff — excluding the newly appointed Ursula Hoff — bemoaning that 'there was no training ground in Australia for Gallery or Art Museum personnel and suggested that the University should set up a Chair of Fine Arts such as Birmingham had for training of art scholars'.<sup>711</sup> Medley believed that he was instrumental in securing the 'project of newspaper chairs', with Murdoch's *Herald* Chair of Fine Arts being the first in a succession at the University of Melbourne. Certainly, it was Medley who had suggested that £40,000 would be needed to sponsor a Chair, and it was Medley who

<sup>709</sup> Hoff notes, NGV/Hoff Correspondence.

<sup>710</sup> Hoff, interview February 1999.

<sup>711</sup> Daryl Lindsay, *Leafy tree*, p.149.

put the name of Joseph Burke forward after having 'picked it up from Theodore Sizer, a recent visitor from Yale.'<sup>712</sup> Another source suggests that Miss Stephanie Taylor was the pioneer of this concept.<sup>713</sup>

Taylor had been critical of the lack of training in the fine arts and its associated fields of philosophy of art since the time when she had been a student at the National Gallery Art School under Bernard Hall and W. B. McInnes between 1914 and 1922. Encouraged by Taylor the National Council of Women of Victoria (NCWV) had raised the concept of a fine arts position in a letter sent to the Council of the University of Melbourne on 25 June 1937.<sup>714</sup> Attached to this letter was a detailed document compiled by Taylor proposing a Chair of Fine Arts, based on a lecture she had given in 1937; by 1939 the organisation was still pushing for a chair or a lectureship at the University. The only reply received was a letter stating 'that a beginning might be made if a guarantee of the necessary money for three years was forthcoming.'<sup>715</sup> Later, as a voluntary lecturer at the National Gallery of Victoria, it is probable that Taylor discussed this issue with Daryl Lindsay, who would have then raised this idea with Sir Keith Murdoch.<sup>716</sup>

In October 1945, after Murdoch had committed funds for the Chair, the University determined that the position was not to be advertised but that a list of 'various overseas authorities' within the Commonwealth and America would be asked to put forward names for consideration. The Vice-Chancellor, J. D. Medley, wrote to Professor Constable of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston stressing that the University wanted 'to find a man with an unusually wide range of cultural sympathies and an unusual flair for expounding them, both inside and outside the University, to a

<sup>712</sup> Geoffrey Serle, *Sir John Medley: a memoir*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1993, p.46; Lindsay, *Leafy tree*, p.149.

<sup>713</sup> Stephanie Taylor was a Melbourne artist and private art teacher. She studied at the National Gallery Art School between 1920 and 1923, and exhibited at the Newman Gallery in 1932, the Velasquez Gallery in 1944-5, and was later the Director of Tye's Art Gallery, c. 1945-50. She gave lectures at the NGV, and 'Talks on art' on 3AR radio. See Juliet Peers, *More than just gumtrees*, Melbourne, Melbourne Society of Women Painters and Sculptors, 1993, pp.167-8, 279-80. See Artists Biographies, SLV.

<sup>714</sup> Secretary, NCWV to the Council of the University of Melbourne, 25 June 1937, National Council of Women of Victoria Archives.

<sup>715</sup> NCWV Archives, Report for 1939.

<sup>716</sup> Stephanie Taylor to the University Council, 8 October 1945, UMA/Central Administration Files, UM 312.

community which has much to learn'.<sup>717</sup> In this letter, Medley asked Constable if he would give his 'frank' opinion of Joseph Burke and whether there might be any other man suitable for the job. Apart from these formalities, the situation was weighted towards this young British art historian and civil servant, whom Daryl Lindsay had met some months earlier in London.

The duties and expectations of the appointee were outlined in a memorandum:

In view of the nature of the bequest, it is expected that the Professor would exert a personal influence on cultural developments in the community at large... that his lecturing work would be expected to fall into *a*. Public Lectures, *b*. Lectures to University students and *c*. Advanced courses for specialist students. The nature of this chair would necessarily bring it into relation with the activities of the National Gallery of Victoria [and] that tenure of the chair be given only to men whose expertness was based on research or original work and if possible opportunity should be given for the continuance of such research.<sup>718</sup>

Furthermore, the Chair would initially be an appointment for a minimum three years and treated as 'a guest professorship to be held for short periods by visiting authorities from abroad'.<sup>719</sup> At a meeting on 27 March 1946 the Council offered the position to Joseph Burke.<sup>720</sup> A character reference sent from Sir Kenneth Clark captured Burke's potential for the position:

I understand that Joseph Burke is being considered for the Chair of Fine Arts in Melbourne University. I think he would be an excellent appointment. He is a serious and well-trained student of art history with a real grasp of the essentials. Although he has made a profound study of Hogarth and the eighteenth century art theory, he is not limited to this period, and has that genuine appreciation of modern art without which knowledge of the art of the past becomes rather dead. He also has great enthusiasm, which I am sure is one of the chief assets in a post of this kind, especially where a study of art history is not a well-established tradition. If he goes to Australia he will be much missed in this country, where he is generally regarded as one of the most promising art scholars of his generation.<sup>721</sup>

<sup>717</sup> J. D. Medley to W.G. Constable, 27 November 1945, UMA/Central Administration Files, 312. Constable knew Burke from the Courtauld, where he had been director from 1932–1936.

<sup>718</sup> Ibid.

<sup>719</sup> Ibid.

<sup>720</sup> Enquiries regarding the Professorship came from several local members associated with the arts, such as Alan Sumner and Stephanie Taylor.

<sup>721</sup> Second Report of the Standing Committee for the Chair of Fine Arts, 27 March 1946; attached to this was Burke's curriculum vitae and a typescript reference from Sir Kenneth Clark, UMA/312/409.

Clark's involvement in major cultural causes in Great Britain cannot be overestimated, and there had been a good deal of communication between him and Joseph Burke over the years, initially through the Ministry of Information.<sup>722</sup>

Clark was the first to know of Burke's appointment, Burke writing to him that 'I have just received a cable from Medley offering me the Chair. I need hardly say how delighted I am. It will be a great opportunity [and] I shall do my best to make a success of it and justify your confidence in supporting my application'.<sup>723</sup> Shortly after Sir Keith Murdoch's visit to London for the Empire Press Conference in May 1945, the Prime Minister Clement Attlee recommended Joseph Burke for an OBE, to which Burke humbly replied, 'I am not sure what I have done to deserve your making this recommendation, but I am very pleased indeed that you have done so'.<sup>724</sup> This was probably part of the grooming for his new appointment.

When Joseph Burke took up his position at the University of Melbourne at the beginning of 1947 his foremost task was to assess the cultural and political framework of Australia and specifically that of Melbourne. In order to understand the tenor of Australian cities and their inhabitants he cast his eyes over the art scenes of Sydney, Canberra and Adelaide, harvesting connections through elite gentlemen's clubs and accumulating aesthetic and political components that would enable him to operate successfully in his new post.

Joseph Burke's identity, that of the 'educated English gentleman', gave him considerable license to facilitate and enhance his authority and personage. This endowed him with a certain paternalistic, Ruskinian style of nineteenth century 'social affection', where the principal emphasis was 'dependent upon the aristocracy'.<sup>725</sup> His immediate popularity made him a highly sought after speaker and he was soon perceived as one of the most charismatic men in Melbourne. Burke often raced from committee meetings, lectures, radio broadcasts, public presentations, exhibition openings and a myriad of other social and professional obligations with the political

<sup>722</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark was seconded to the Ministry of Information in September 1939, where he was Controller of Home Publicity until 1941. His work involved propaganda and public information. Clark described the MOI as an 'undirected orchestra'.

<sup>723</sup> Burke to Kenneth Clark, 3 April 1946, TGA/KCP/MS.8812.1.3.541.

<sup>724</sup> Burke to Clement Attlee, 21 April 1946, Bod/MS.Attlee 36, fol. 220.

<sup>725</sup> Lesley Johnson, *The cultural critics*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p.56.

agility and verbal eloquence that befitted one who had been a private secretary to successive Lords President of the Council and a Prime Minister.<sup>726</sup> Medley's brief had clearly been filled:

Art cannot be an isolated cell, if it is to take its proper part in life. Our professor will, I hope, play an active role in the School of Architecture, in the operations of the University Theatre, in the Conservatorium of Music, and in the departments of History, Philosophy and Languages. He should be brought into close contact with the Trustees of the National Gallery ... We must, in fact, look for a paragon of all virtues, and we are unlikely to find them all in one man.<sup>727</sup>

This 'paragon of all virtues' appealed to Burke and he embarked on the Herculean task of cultural attaché and educator. Joseph Burke's first secretary, Hilda Fletcher, summed up his hectic schedule as that of a man who 'held a scooter rather than a Chair'.<sup>728</sup>

### Joseph Burke's Arcadia

In the interval impressions have become recollections, and memory, it is well to remember, is a profoundly inventive faculty.

Joseph Burke<sup>729</sup>

Invention and imagination are two words that recur with pronounced regularity throughout Joseph Burke's publications, writings and speeches. They become, along with his charm, the pin stripe suit and the cigarette, his *leitmotif*, and were inextricably part of his intellectual and psychological attire. (plate 43) When Burke gave public

<sup>726</sup> Burke had been a private secretary to Sir John Anderson, Lord Woolton and to Clement Attlee — to the latter both before and after he became prime minister.

<sup>727</sup> J.D.G. Medley, 'A chair of fine arts', p.43.

<sup>728</sup> Hilda Fletcher, interview, 1 August 2001.

<sup>729</sup> Burke, 'Some recollections of the post-war years in Australian painting: a lesson for the future', The Sixth Sir William Dobell Memorial Lecture, Sir William Dobell Art Foundation, 1982, p.5.

lectures, his choice of words and histrionic style, a mix of erudition, eloquence and intellectual meandering led his audience on a Hogarthian 'kind of chace'.<sup>730</sup> Generally, it was agreed that these intellectual performances, which were aimed at the general rather than the specific audience, were immensely enjoyable.<sup>731</sup>

On his arrival in Melbourne in January 1947, Burke realised that the Australian educational and cultural condition was in need both of revision and expansion and, with the post-war reconstruction schemes in full swing, his new position as the *Herald* Professor of Fine Arts implied a responsibility as well as the means of addressing this situation. He had, however, to approach this carefully and not be seen as a presumptuous Englishman who had come to teach the 'colonials' about superior British and European culture. On several occasions, Burke came close to this as his Syme Oration in Brisbane in 1949 attests. In 'The Age of Reason' Burke jumped between world politics, the threat of communism and its collective power to diminish individualism, to the more local manifestation of 'indifference'. Proselytizing, Burke said 'We must be on guard, therefore, against the dangerous cult of mediocrity which is steadily spreading throughout the world ... No great nation is exempt'.<sup>732</sup> His inference was that Australia, both as a subsidiary of Great Britain and because of its 'remote[ness] from great world centres',<sup>733</sup> was at a great risk of succumbing to a debilitation of standards. This speech was reported in several newspapers and gave something of a comic edge to a nation whose 'mates and diggers' were being warned that 'one of the symptoms of this growth in [mediocrity] is the hostility that is increasingly shown to personal distinction in manner, in speech, in dress and, not least, in intellect'.<sup>734</sup> Burke's sermon on civilizing issues included a scrambled inventory of codes of behaviour and ethics that belied his own structural and intellectual preferences, preferences that belonged to another age and place.

<sup>730</sup> Hogarth quoted in Burke (ed.), *William Hogarth*, p.42.

<sup>731</sup> Tom Hazel conversation with author. Burke's lectures had to be cast at a general level for a public audience; this was partly a stipulation of his civic duties as the Herald Professor of Fine Art.

<sup>732</sup> Burke, 'The George Adlington Syme Oration: the age of reason' *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery*, xix (no.1, 1949).

<sup>733</sup> Burke, 'Cult Of mediocrity', *Sun*, 9 June 1949.

<sup>734</sup> Burke, 'Age of reason', p.6.



The present should look back on the whole of the past, and reject nothing of value... And here perhaps a student of the Eighteenth Century may be forgiven if he draws attention to certain peculiar merits of that century.... In other words, the "Age of Reason" is a reminder of those values of reasonable conduct, tolerance, free enquiry and humane sentiment which the world so badly needs today.<sup>735</sup>

One of Burke's first major speeches, given at the inaugural general meeting of the newly formed National Gallery Society on 9 October 1947, showed vision and enthusiasm. This vision may have seemed fanciful in post-war Melbourne, but his concepts would become indispensable to many institutions during the last decades of the twentieth century. Burke told his audience:

We live in an age of doubt and short returns in which not only individuals but nations think in terms of five year plans. If that had been the spirit of the past, the world today would not possess a single Gothic Cathedral. This Society has noble aims which stretch far into the future. Its purpose is to serve as a link between the Gallery and the community: to bring into its service all those who have anything to contribute, whether by gifts or special knowledge or voluntary services. A museum is not simply a national treasure house in which valuable objects are preserved and guarded, and which the more curious members of the public inspect. It is an educational centre and a source of recreation; ... it is a publishing house which provides literature on the arts of all descriptions from the twopenny postcard to the sumptuous catalogue; an information centre; a workshop for art students and a playground for art lovers. The Museums and Galleries of the future should not only be housed in buildings of unsurpassed beauty; they should be places where things happen, where concerts are given, where the man in the street and his family should feel at home and be encouraged to seek mental refreshment. Many people have to travel long distances; they should be able to get a good meal, attractively and quickly served, in pleasant surroundings; I should like to see a children's museum, and am even prepared to go farther and suggest that there should be a nursery where the overworked and harassed mother could leave her children for a little while and then renew contact with the world of the imagination that gives dignity and beauty to life.<sup>736</sup>

Quixotic by nature, Burke's eccentricity allowed him to blend tradition with the present, utilising a Hogarthian temperament with a 'Burkean eighteenth century form of patronage.'<sup>737</sup> Added to this was the 'eidetic', the borrowed image, the borrowed word, the borrowed spectacle. The result was impressive, his lectures and public

<sup>735</sup> Ibid, p.8.

<sup>736</sup> Burke, Inaugural General Meeting of the National Gallery Society, 9 October 1947, TGA/KCP.

<sup>737</sup> Peter Tomory, notes for the author, 30 July 2001.

speeches were greeted enthusiastically and are still remembered with great affection. One of Burke's more important contributions to the arts was this sense of enjoyment and intellectual accessibility. Many young students who ventured into his lectures on the history of art left the auditorium feeling that they had been culturally elevated, that art gave more resonance to other intellectual disciplines. Often his public presentations were so liberally sprinkled with witticisms and anecdotes, and 'were such fun'<sup>738</sup> that they became infuriating to the more serious intellectual. One critical observer felt 'that in his written word Burke was reliable, convincing and intellectually informative, but that when speaking, he played with words', to gain effective control of his audience through verbal gymnastics.<sup>739</sup> Indeed, there were some — such as Hoff and Philipp — who held the view that Burke was an intellectual lightweight. This was true in comparison to these continentally trained scholars, and the appointment of the more relaxed intellectual, Bernard Smith, may have helped to diminish the contrast particularly between Philipp and Burke.

Burke's magnum opus, *English Art, 1714-1800*, part of the Oxford History of English Art series, took some twenty-five years to complete, and several of his papers and public lectures tended towards a Ruskinian tendency to use art as a platform for social reform. Indeed, 'the conflict of the study of art and the reformation of society, between self-indulgence and self-sacrifice', was characteristic of both Burke and Ruskin.<sup>740</sup> Burke's post-war reconstruction ideals lent on eighteenth and nineteenth century English educational theories and aesthetic philosophies, especially those of Hogarth, Reynolds, Blake and Ruskin. These men of art and letters were the fulcrum of Joseph Burke's values, values which elevated society by civic humanism as it was savaged not so much by the 'the dark and satanic mills' of industrialization, but more by recent revolutions and wars. Burke, balanced this periodization with contemporary standards advocated by men such as Herbert Read, Nikolaus Pevsner and Edgar Wind.

<sup>738</sup> Barbara Falk, interview, 1 November, 2001.

<sup>739</sup> Bob Garlick, interview, 6 August 1999.

<sup>740</sup> John D. Rosenberg, *The darkening glass: a portrait of Ruskin's genius*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963, p.186.

'The present should look back on the whole of the past, and reject nothing of value'.<sup>741</sup> For a young man of thirty-six years, Burke's past was a considerable resource. He had experienced the British, continental and American systems of higher education and culture, as presented by the Courtauld Institute of Art, the Warburg Institute and Kings College at the University of London, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Portrait Gallery and Yale University. He had witnessed a world at war, and had spent six intense years being privy to the methods and thoughts of men of power whose key positions were pivotal in rescuing civilization from collapse. It was not surprising that he was an eclectic mixture of the apologist, the reformer, the politician and the cultural missionary.

Joseph Burke was a tall and handsome man, courteous and clever, but also shrewd. He knew how to handle the press, businessmen, committees and boards, and prime ministers — abilities learned from spectatorship and first-hand experience. Burke had witnessed the power of the verbal spectacle at its most memorable and hypnotic. Both Churchill's and Hitler's powers of oratory were blueprints for public enthrallment, while Clement Attlee's more measured tone pacified the common man. When Burke wrote of 'an interplay between the grand and the familiar' he was not only referring to the inter-relationship of the arts in England in the eighteenth century, or the interspace between the Baroque and Rococo,<sup>742</sup> but of the political and intellectual elite and the interplay with the masses. Burke cast the grand with the familiar, just as he had smoothly worked between the conservatives and the socialists, or exhibited the masterpiece with the mass-produced utilitarian craftwork. When he left the rule-bound, enclosed garden society of England and arrived in the city of Melbourne twelve thousand miles away, he believed that the physical and psychological distance would allow him to make new rules regarding art as a 'social utility' with its place securely established by 'its cultural centrality'.<sup>743</sup> This was an updated revision of nineteenth century codes of art education as a moralizing force —

<sup>741</sup> Burke, 'The George Adlington Syme Oration: The age of reason', Melbourne, 1949, p.8.

<sup>742</sup> Burke, 'Hogarth, Handel and Roubiliac: A note on the interrelationships of the arts in England, c.1730–1760', in *Eighteenth-century studies*, vol. 3. No.2, p.161. UMA/BP.

<sup>743</sup> Docker, p.86.

what Bernard Smith saw as 'the benefits of civilization' as espoused by 'the quasi-benevolent humanism of Victorian liberalism.'<sup>744</sup>

Art history in the 1940s was still a young academic discipline, one where influential and powerful art historians could carve out their own kingdoms, and Joseph Burke regarded the antipodes as a *tabula rasa*. He had observed Anthony Blunt do this at the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Ernst Gombrich at the Warburg Institute and the BBC and Nikolaus Pevsner at the *Architectural Review*. Burke felt that Australia would offer him a greater chance of succeeding in a land possessing few, if any, giants in the field of art history and in the adjacent domains of connoisseurship and art patronage, even though some in England believed then and later that his potential there would one day be recognised.<sup>745</sup> Burke successfully inserted himself into the bureaucratic systems and society of Melbourne, but he always retained an impeccable Englishness. And what of nostalgia for England? Burke avoided this through a Herculean workload and the transferring of English ideals and concepts to institutions with which he became associated. As a re-located civil servant and a 'god professor' he had accepted an enormous mission. There was no Fine Arts department yet; this he had to establish. Moreover, Burke was under obligation to perform duties that enhanced Murdoch's empire. There was, simply, very little time for nostalgia.

Burke's initial reading of the Australian landscape as he traveled by train from Sydney to Melbourne when he first arrived in December 1946 revealed his romantic idealism and his ability to adjust to the new environment:

Paradoxically, what struck a European arriving in 1946 was not the antiquity of the landscape, but its modernity in terms not of geology, but art.... It was a landscape designed by Henry Moore and coloured at sunset by Graham Sutherland. Even the dead ring-barked trees with their white skeletal shapes and writhing branches evoked some of the more sombre images of Paul Klee.

<sup>744</sup> Bernard Smith, *Place, taste and tradition*, 2nd edn, Melbourne, OUP, 1979, p.98.

<sup>745</sup> Edgar Wind pressed Burke to consider applying for the position of Keeper at the Ashmolean in Oxford in 1961, and W. G. Constable writing to Burke in 1959 confirms this with '...as you know eyes have been focussed upon you from several quarters to see if you could be lured away from Melbourne.' But Constable, concluded by writing 'But I am glad that this has not happened... you have made such a place for yourself that uprooting you would be a disaster for Australia.' Burke also claimed later in a letter to Roy Grounds that he had been invited to apply for appointments at two other international institutions, the Barber Chair of Fine Art at Birmingham and the directorship of the Montreal Art Gallery. UMA/BP/Personal correspondence, Box 2.

The Surrealists merely painted the landscapes of a dream world; Australia realised them.<sup>746</sup>

Within a brief period of time he had so well acquainted himself with the local, and more generally the national art scene, that he had swapped Graham Sutherland for Russell Drysdale, Augustus John for Constance Stokes, and Paul Klee for Sidney Nolan. One method of familiarising himself with the art scene was to subscribe to a press clipping service, and Hilda Fletcher began compiling scrapbooks which provided a general art reference guide.<sup>747</sup> More specifically, Burke began collecting contemporary and retrospective exhibition catalogues, including material that Percival Serle donated to the Fine Arts Department, and illustrated guides from all the state galleries. This intensive compilation of exhibition invitations, art and auction catalogues from the time of his arrival was one of the most accurate methods available with which to inform himself of the quality, variety and the type of influences that were operating in the arts in Australia. It was not simply a system of surveillance, but an integral part of his broad task and commitment to understanding art beyond the confines of the academic.<sup>748</sup>

Some of these catalogues Burke had acquired on visits to Sydney in 1948 and 1949. Burke had begun corresponding in early 1948 with Dale Trendall, the Professor of Classics at the University of Sydney, and the possibility of an exchange of lectures and students in art courses between the two universities was raised.<sup>749</sup> Later that year Burke lectured to a combined Classical and English Association of students at the University of Sydney.<sup>750</sup> During this trip Burke met Bernard Smith, then the education officer at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, and a part-time arts student at the University of Sydney.<sup>751</sup> Included in Burke's caché of catalogues from these years was

<sup>746</sup> Burke, 'The post-war years in Australian art', p.7.

<sup>747</sup> June Stewart, interview, July 2003.

<sup>748</sup> Over thirty-five years Burke had collected some thirteen boxes of art and exhibition material that had been ordered into country and year by June Stewart and successive secretaries. In June 2003 this was assessed and catalogued by the author as part of the research for this dissertation. It is added as appendix A.

<sup>749</sup> Dale Trendall to Burke, 9 March 1948, UMA/BP.

<sup>750</sup> Trendall to Burke, 27 July 1948, *ibid*.

<sup>751</sup> Bernard Smith commenced an Arts degree in 1946, taking English, History and Classical Archaeology. He was not alone as a 'mature age' student as many returned servicemen were enrolled through the post-war reconstruction scheme. Smith attended evening classes, except for Trendall's

a copy of *Art in the Country*, probably given by Smith. This had been the third of Bernard Smith's touring exhibitions, organised through the AGNSW and initiated during war-time in December 1944.<sup>752</sup> Importantly, Burke may have seen Smith as potential academic material, and eventually Smith came to the Fine Arts Department at the University of Melbourne in 1956.<sup>753</sup> Other important exhibition catalogues collected by Burke included *An Exhibition of Present-Day Australian Art*, organised by Basil Burdett in 1935 through Macquarie Galleries in Sydney in conjunction with Keith Murdoch's *The Herald and Weekly Times*. This exhibition was shown at the AGNSW and the Lower Town Hall in Melbourne in February 1935.<sup>754</sup> Burke also obtained copies of the catalogues of the *Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art*, held in October 1939 and a British traveling exhibition of 1933 organised by Mrs Alleyne Zander of the Redfern Galleries in Bond Street, London.<sup>755</sup>

Of the more important commercial galleries, Burke put his new department on the mailing list of the Macquarie Galleries in Sydney and the Stanley Coe Gallery of Melbourne — later the Peter Bray Gallery in 1951.<sup>756</sup> Both of these galleries showcased the most important artists working at the time. Helen Ogilvie, the director of the Peter Bray Gallery and one of the first women commercial gallery directors in Australia, worked hard at representing established and emerging artists.<sup>757</sup> The inaugural exhibition, '21 Artists', in February 1950, included works by George Bell, Arthur Boyd, Dorothy Braund, Charles Bush, John Farmer, Leonard French, Raymond Glass, Polly Hurry, Geoff Jones, William Frater, Roger Kemp, Bernard Lawson, Daryl Lindsay, Jan Nigro, Ada May Plante, Arnold Shore, Constance Stokes, Alan Sumner, Francis Ray Thompson, Alan Warren and Phyl Waterhouse.<sup>758</sup> Joseph Burke

---

lectures, and worked at the AGNSW during the day. See Bernard Smith, *A pavanne for another time*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 2002, p.146.

<sup>752</sup> [Bernard Smith], *Art in the country*, Sydney, National Art Gallery of New South Wales, [1946]. Smith argued in this the need for the establishment of provincial art galleries in New South Wales. Importantly it was one of the first educationally organised touring exhibitions in Australia that catered seriously to 'art for the people'.

<sup>753</sup> June Stewart attributes Smith's appointment to Philipp.

<sup>754</sup> A one shilling entry and catalogue costs for the exhibition was in aid of the Red Cross Prisoners of War Fund and participating artists included .....

<sup>755</sup> These earlier catalogues may have been given by Percival Serle.

<sup>756</sup> The Stanley Coe Gallery opened in late 1949 at 435 Bourke Street.

<sup>757</sup> Ogilvie became a valued acquaintance of Burke's.

<sup>758</sup> See appendice A.

purchased some of his first Australian art works, an Ian Fairweather gouache 'Hell' and a Constance Stokes, from this gallery.

### Cultural Elitism and the Common Man

Joseph Burke considered one of his more pressing mandates was to bring the provincial, antipodean systems of art and education more into line with cultural universalism. Just as Ruskin had believed that 'the success of such a principle [a more humane society] was dependent on the action of the aristocracy',<sup>759</sup> so did Burke pursue Australian and international elites.

Endorsed by men of authority, both in the academic and cultural fields, Burke took as his mentors the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, Nikolaus Pevsner, W. G. Constable, Sir Kenneth Clark, Sir Henry Hake, Charles Mitchell, T. S. Boase, Wilmarth S. Lewis, Theodore Sizer and Edgar Wind. Through regular contact with these men, Burke felt more confident in transferring British and international standards to provincial Melbourne. His most important contact during the establishment of the Fine Arts Department was Sir Kenneth Clark, who received regular documents for comment and approval.<sup>760</sup> Indeed, the range of correspondence to important overseas authorities on art reveals how much Burke sought guidance and reassurance in academic and administrative matters. Sir Henry Hake, the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, offered advice on structure and general education in the fine arts, suggesting to Burke that he take the Warburgian approach, 'in the sense that you take the bad pictures as well as the good ones to read as documents of the age under study. I do not think that the Warburgian higher thought need come in at that stage.'<sup>761</sup> Hake

<sup>759</sup> Johnson, *Cultural critics*, p.56.

<sup>760</sup> Burke to Clark, 27 January 1948, TGA/KCP/ 'Dear Clark, I am sending herewith a copy of my inaugural lecture here...' and 9 March 1948, 'this is just to send you an eye witness account of the reception of the latest batch of Felton pictures....'

<sup>761</sup> Sir Henry Hake, 30 May 1948. This 'Extract' dated 30 May 1948, is from Sir Henry Hake and was in response to Burke's inquiries regarding the structuring of the Fine Arts course. UMA/BP/MS 83.34.

qualified the absence of any higher degree by suggesting that any outstanding student could always be sent 'to the U.S.A for Fine Arts study and to London for mixed study, e.g. an historical thesis taking particular cognizance of F.A. [Fine Arts]'.<sup>762</sup> This statement reveals that Hake had a preference for American universities such as Princeton which he regarded as superior for learning art history at a post-graduate level. He further advised Burke not to consider implementing an honors degree at such an early stage of the course and staff development, and stressed the importance of the library. Furthermore, Hake warned that *aides memoire*, such as slides and photographs, were necessary equipment but that reliance on them would remove the need to learn: 'You can teach people to talk about Fine Arts with slides and photographs but not to know.'<sup>763</sup>

Joseph Burke's aim was to design the best department he could with the human and material resources available to him, but he also had to consider what type of student might enrol or whom he could attract to such a new academic course. To achieve this, in his first year of the job he went on the road, broadcasting, lecturing, meeting men and women, mothers and students across Victoria. His schedule was punishing and the relentless pace and range of engagements helped him ascertain many issues central to the construction of the course. His fleet-footedness also meant that he kept so far ahead of the press and public that he was able to maintain a dominant position in Melbourne's cultural hierarchy without too much criticism. A glance of his agenda for 1947 shows that he began with a broadcast at the A.B.C on 9 January. This was followed by weekly engagements which included talks to Rotary Clubs, the Ballarat Fine Art Public Gallery Association and the George and Minnie Crouch Prizes. He spoke at the Lyceum Club, the English Speaking Union, the Royal Society of St. George, the Assistant Mistresses Association of Victoria, the Science Club, the National Council of the Women of Victoria, the Fellowship of Australian Writers, the University Conservatorium Old Students' Association, the Literature Club, the Red Cross Branch of the South Yarra Auxiliary for the Royal Melbourne Hospital, the

<sup>762</sup> Ibid.

<sup>763</sup> Ibid. Again the contrast particularly between Philipp and Burke was most evident as Philipp used extensive slides in his lectures, while Burke felt that you should make no more than three points in any one lecture and that slides should also be limited.



Australian Institute of International Affairs, six lectures to the History Society, ten lectures for the Council of Adult Education (held at the National Gallery of Victoria's Lecture Room), the Engineering Club, Melbourne Technical College, the Geelong Art Gallery Association, Bendigo Art Gallery, the Extension Board Lecture for Matriculation Students and further Matriculation lectures at Ballarat, Geelong, Mildura, finishing at Lauriston School on 15 December for their Prize Day.<sup>764</sup> He officially opened eight art exhibitions for that year, and three of his published articles dealt with his passion for industrial design and modern Australian textiles.<sup>765</sup> This spectacular display of energy and public and social commitment preceded any teaching and set the tone for much of Burke's career in Australia, with the years ahead filled with equally demanding schedules.

What Burke achieved in that one year was not only an assessment of the cross-section of adult and higher secondary education, but it transformed him into a cultural potentate who epitomised all that the proposed Fine Art course would ultimately offer to those who enrolled. When late in 1947 Joseph Burke wrote his 'Proposals for Fine Arts' he took Hake's advice and offered it as an optional first-year course of the regular curriculum for the Bachelor of Arts Degree:

Fine Arts A has been designed as the normal first-year course in the history of art...The period of the Renaissance, c1300-c1600, has been chosen partly on account of the standards it introduces, and partly because it serves as a bridge between the modern and the ancient world: it thus provides a good foundation both for artistic judgment and for building up knowledge. The approach will be historical, and the study of art will be related to that of the other humanities and to the historical and social background. In this way it is hoped that the student will acquire some understanding of the motives and conditions by and under which art is created, and will develop his appreciation and judgment by reference to worthy examples...<sup>766</sup>

A year later in another report to the Vice-Chancellor, Burke was able to confirm his objectives. Dr Ursula Hoff was employed to give lectures and a tutorial class, while Franz Philipp — then a Senior Tutor in History — was seconded to lecture and also take tutorials. Professor Bernard Heinze was enlisted from the Conservatorium of

<sup>764</sup> 'Public lectures, 1947', UMA/BP.

<sup>765</sup> These included 'A hundred years of industrial design' and 'Modern Australian textiles for the home', published in the *Australian Home Beautiful*, and 'Textiles by Australian artists in *Primo Anno*.

<sup>766</sup> Memorandum for the Vice-Chancellor, 5 January 1948, UMA/BP.

Music to give lectures on Renaissance music,<sup>767</sup> and Daryl Lindsay was asked to give an occasional lecture. In keeping with Lindsay's love of horses, Burke suggested a lecture to the Fine Arts students on 'The Equestrian Portrait'.<sup>768</sup> With a full course enrolment of 65 students, and additional students from other departments, predominantly Architecture and Music, Burke established the parameters of tertiary education in the History of Art. He extended his efforts as a 'proper medium to reach a wider audience', through his official association with the Council of Adult Education. Burke felt confident enough to speculate that Fine Arts B would be introduced in 1950, and that Fine Arts C would soon follow but was dependent upon additional staff. Franz Philipp's appointment to the Department as a full time lecturer strengthened the scheme, while Ursula Hoff continued with her part-time lecturing. Professor Dale Trendall from the University of Sydney regularly contributed lectures on Greek and Roman Art, and Dr Leonhard Adam offered lectures on 'the art of primitive peoples'. Dr Falk gave lectures on Egyptian art, Professor Hunt on Etruscan art, Dr Hirschfeld-Mack on 'The Bauhaus', John Brack on Abstract art, and John O'Brien of the History Department also contributed regular lectures.

Nikolaus Pevsner had written that 'As long as new ideas are the property of only a few, they will hardly tend to crystalise into fixed form; and only when a fairly wide public has grasped them and taken part in them, can they be accepted as an academic programme.'<sup>769</sup> This was certainly a major part of Burke's grand plan, and by 1950 Burke, who had been reappointed to a permanent, tenured position as the *Herald* Professor of Fine Arts, was able to implement the next stage of the Fine Arts Department.

<sup>767</sup> Ibid. Bernard Heinze (1894–1982) had studied music in Paris and Berlin before joining the Melbourne Conservatorium in 1924. He was the Ormond Professor of Music from 1925 to 1956, the Director General of Music for the ABC, 1929–32, and conductor of the Victorian Symphony Orchestra, 1933–56, after which he became the Director of the NSW Conservatorium, 1956–66. An avid collector and lover of contemporary art, he was associated with Cynthia Reed and John and Sunday Reed. See Reid and Underhill (eds), *Letters of John Reed*, p.102.

<sup>768</sup> Given on 19 May 1949, this lecture was held in the lower lecture theatre of the New Arts Building, otherwise called Babel. Burke to Lindsay, 4 May 1949, NLA/CPP.

<sup>769</sup> Pevsner, *Academies of art*, p.19.

### Franz Philipp and the Ideals of Scholarship

A Viennese who had no sense of art or found no enjoyment in form was unthinkable in 'good society'... one was not a real Viennese without this love of culture, without this sense, aesthetic and critical at once, of the holiest exuberance of life.

Stefan Zweig.<sup>770</sup>

Franz Philipp wrote that 'Cultural activities have their own momentum, their own tradition', an ideology which acknowledged his old teacher Julius von Schlosser's belief in a cultural autonomy.<sup>771</sup> But Philipp also agreed with Panofsky that 'The very definition of a period as a phase "marked by a change of direction" implies continuity as well as dissociation'.<sup>772</sup> Though Franz Philipp was referring to the Renaissance, the recent bifurcation of events in Europe and Philipp's personal 'disassociation' with Europe as a result of Nazism gave greater definition to his own 'change of direction'. What endured as a continuum for Philipp was his art historical knowledge, and his passion for the 'aesthetical and critical at once'. Philipp's cultural identity and intellectual structure also reveals a debt to the younger generation of Viennese art historians of the 1920s and 1930s, such as Otto Pächt and Hans Sedlmayr, who attempted to reformulate art history, 'a re-casting of the basic visual encounter between beholder and image'.<sup>773</sup> Walter Benjamin wrote of these scholars as those who were 'filling the margins of the study of history with new life'.<sup>774</sup> And indeed Philipp most surely would have pursued this had he remained in Europe. What Franz Philipp's educational induction by the Viennese avant-garde intellectuals in the mid 1930s gave him were the appropriate intellectual tools for adjusting to a new cultural phase — that of Australia in the decades of the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>775</sup>

<sup>770</sup> Zweig, *World of yesterday*, pp.13–14.

<sup>771</sup> Philipp, 'Vasari and the renaissance', *Melbourne historical journal*, ii (1962), 25–6.

<sup>772</sup> Panofsky, *Renaissance and renaissances in western art*, (1960), p.3, quoted in *ibid*.

<sup>773</sup> Wood (ed.), *Vienna school reader*, p.16.

<sup>774</sup> Walter Benjamin, cited in *ibid*, p.16.

<sup>775</sup> As the decade of the 1960s progressed, Philipp became increasingly disillusioned with his position in the Fine Arts Department and by the late 1960s his professional relationship with Burke had reached a deadlock position. He began dreaming of America again, and on his sabbatical in 1970 he had plans for teaching and applying for positions in America.

For European scholars such as Franz Philipp and his generation there had been an intellectual compulsion to investigate the relevance of the traditional within the rapidly moving paradigms of a restless world — a world which seemed to be psychologically preparing men and women for exile. In Burchardian terms, these Europeans were potential *clerici vaganti*, 'possessors, carriers and diffusers of ancient culture',<sup>776</sup> and for many the itinerancy which lay ahead of them would entail extreme endurance, tragedy and sadness. But there would also be a revival of humanism, reforged on new territory, where they would search for a seat from which they could recall their past, but dwell also within the present.

Exile gave Franz Philipp the opportunity to select from the past but espouse the new and the modern, particularly in works of art and design, the non-Nazi modernism of the Bauhaus or the idiosyncratic vernacularism of Australian architecture. In Australia, the opportunity to begin anew, strategically select and define according to the cultural present seemed to offer him potential. This was evident in Philipp's relationship to the shy and sensitive Melbourne artist Arthur Boyd.

Philipp's friendship with Boyd began in 1942 in north central Victoria, when Boyd was enlisted in the Military Services and Franz Philipp was an interned enemy alien. The meeting was particularly important for the complementation of artist and scholar and their exchange of ideas and images, a mechanism through which Philipp could glance backwards and intellectually invoke his archetypal European *weltgeist*, while critically assessing the modern aesthetics of young Australian artists. Religious, biblical, classical and mythological sources and symbolism engendered a greater understanding for both these men of the city, coastal or bush environments. It helped Boyd consolidate his 'expressionistic oeuvre' while giving Philipp greater anchorage to the present. Through the literary influences of Dostoyevsky, Joyce, Shakespeare and Beckett,<sup>777</sup> and his association with European refugees and émigrés such as Franz Philipp, Peter Herbst and Ursula Hoff, Arthur Boyd merged historical sources with the

<sup>776</sup> Jacob Burchardt, *The civilization of the renaissance in Italy*, New York, Mentor Books, 1960, pp.147 and 203.

<sup>777</sup> Arthur Boyd became friendly with his scoutmaster, Max Nicholson, who began to visit the family home and influenced Doris Boyd in her choice of literature. Nicholson read Beckett, Joyce and other writers aloud, as Doris did with Dostoyevsky. Peter Herbst, interview, 26 February 2002; 'Biographical notes', tape recording made for John Hetherington, 1961, UMA/Franz Philipp Papers, Acc. No. 86.166.

contemporary barbarism and evil that was stalking Europe. The powerful transmogrification of these intellectual and creative affiliations gave Boyd's paintings of the early to mid 1940s a distinctive classical yet modern expressionistic style. In turn, this gave his own primal fears greater expression. Boyd was able to stroke the beast and release it onto the visual plane where it could roam, an artistic exorcism that liberated his fears, much as Edvard Munch had revelled in the same dark fears of humanity during the final years of the nineteenth century.<sup>778</sup> Symbolic and universal, Boyd's art operated at a personal level for Philipp; where, like the poet Virgil, Philipp accompanied Boyd on an Antipodean journey and entered the psychological foundations and the tormented scenes of its creator. 'The dark places are at the centre. Pass them by and there can be no serious discussion of human potential'.<sup>779</sup>

Franz Philipp closely observed Boyd's oeuvre, and wrote at length after viewing the artist's 'Crucifixion' paintings when they were exhibited in the corridors of the Rowden White Library in 1946.<sup>780</sup> Boyd explored and attempted to understand the passion between beauty and persecution, between sensuality and the blasting breath of the devil's advocate. This he fused with a pictorial religiosity, 'a mystic kind which could only be described as Blakean'.<sup>781</sup> It is not difficult to imagine the reciprocity between Franz Philipp and Arthur Boyd when this artist's apocalyptic visions of humanity were so reminiscent of the dehumanised face of Europe, the one from which Philipp had so recently been expelled. Arthur Boyd, in his humble way, acknowledged that 'Franz Philipp took an interest in my work and helped me greatly in many ways.'<sup>782</sup> The culmination of some twenty-five years of mutual interplay resulted in Franz Philipp's monograph, *Arthur Boyd*, published in 1967.

<sup>778</sup> See Franz Philipp, *Arthur Boyd*.

<sup>779</sup> Steiner, *In Bluebeard's castle*, p.32.

<sup>780</sup> Interestingly, other exhibitions held at the Rowden White Library and the Music Room Corridor of the Union House were of abstract paintings by Ludvig Hirschfeld-Mack, Japanese Prints, and Namatjira watercolours. Prints by Breughel and Bosch were shown intentionally at the same time as the exhibition by Boyd, Sidney Nolan and Albert Tucker, while later Boyd held another exhibition with John Yule. The last exhibition was of the Blake watercolours (original) lent by the NGV to coincide with A.D. Hope's lectures on Blake. See Melbourne University Fine Arts Society Minute Book, 1937-1952, pp.73-4, UMA/Franz Philipp Papers/Acc. No. 86.166.

<sup>781</sup> Philipp, *Boyd*, p.22

<sup>782</sup> Arthur Boyd, Biographical notes, UMA/FPP.

Ursula Hoff wrote that to follow Franz Philipp's intellectual direction was not easy, his 'incisive reasoning allowed for no loose ends or vague 'appreciationism'.<sup>783</sup> (plate 44) As a mature student in 1949–50, Gordon Thomson commented on how Joseph Burke would provide three key points within a lecture, while Ursula Hoff expressly said that no more than five points should be made.<sup>784</sup> Conversely, Franz Philipp would load over thirty slides which presented a kaleidoscopic visual history, and for each of those thirty slides he would provide a banquet of historical riches which drew on the sociological, historical, cultural and the art of civilization. This intellectual overload of the history of humanism repelled many students unused to the critical methodology of the Viennese historians — scientific rationalism, cultural history in the Burchardian sense and the iconographical systems then current in German art historicism — but it nevertheless attracted the more brilliant student who sensed that here was a passionate scholar capable of bringing the history of the Renaissance, as well as other periods, alive in all its splendour and intricacies.

Franz Philipp 'demanded that knowledge be exact and comprehensive...[and] all this made for considerable rigour in his classes and lectures and there were many who could not stay his course. For those who did, he was a most rewarding teacher.'<sup>785</sup> His pedagogy was dense and formidable, his analysis and hermeneutics challenging, and while he was more the surgeon who wanted to graft only the best students to the great tree of art history, his intellectual attraction reached well beyond his more outstanding pupils. 'Franz didn't compromise his standards, [and] I was always surprised when quite average students showed how responsive they were to his lectures, because his lectures were difficult, in material and in manner.'<sup>786</sup> Without Philipp's ideals of scholarship, the inheritors of his teaching would not have been groomed to a level that was required by international scholars and institutions of

<sup>783</sup> Hoff, 'In memory of Franz Philipp', *Art bulletin of Victoria*, xii (1970–71), 30.

<sup>784</sup> Thomson, interview 20 July 2001.

<sup>785</sup> Patrick McCaughey, 'Franz Philipp: a tribute' in *Art and Australia*, viii (no.3. 1970), 218. Margaret Plant, interview 12 March 2003, recalled that those students who were able to respond to Philipp's lecturing style had to overcome disadvantages. Philipp often spoke and wrote in several languages — German, Latin, Italian — with a thick Austrian accent, and that he had regular bouts of spluttering and coughing. Nevertheless, certain students were devoted to his passionate involvement with art and its cultural byways.

<sup>786</sup> June Stewart, interview, 8 June 2001.

repute. As a 'relentless editor',<sup>787</sup> Philipp transferred the methods of training to which he had been expected to rise. Indeed, Philipp was a direct link between the Viennese von Schlosser, Tietze and Sedlmayr and the European academies that he had studied in — world history as opposed to provincialism — to the Fine Arts Department at the University of Melbourne. Similarly, Ursula Hoff's teaching methodology — iconographic contextuality and a Warburgian cultural historicism — emanated mainly from Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl. What students found particularly exciting in Philipp's approach was, to paraphrase Bernice Murphy, the total exploration of a work of art and its full spectrum of orientation — patronage, social history, documentary and textual records, topographical material and the understanding of what constituted major commissions and therefore what it was that had replaced them.<sup>788</sup> This unfolded history in an exciting way. Furthermore, 'the scholarship in which he had been trained and the fields of interest that that scholarship involved, the cultural history that came with the Germanic background' and 'his ability to move and transfer the implications of these approaches to where he lived in Australia' is what captivated the student and sealed their dedication to him as a teacher.<sup>789</sup>

Just as Julius von Schlosser had his small group of doctoral students, 'the happy few',<sup>790</sup> and Fritz Saxl had his own brood of students in Hamburg in the early 1930s, so too did Philipp, with his 'finely ramified, intense orientation',<sup>791</sup> have his own devotees in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s. For many of those students Philipp offered a dynamism, a mental pressure which was intensely rewarding. Though not all were protégés of Philipp, Virginia Spate, Harley Preston, David Saunders, Brian Finemore, Basil Gilbert, David Thomas, John Henshaw, Karl Andrew, Leon Paroissien, Joseline Gray, Ruth Zubans, Robert Gaston, Frances McCarthy, Margaret Rich, Bernice Murphy, Margaret Plant, Margaret Manion, Ann Galbally, Jaynie Anderson and Irena Zdanowicz, went on to achieve scholarly acclaim or obtain important academic or professional positions.

<sup>787</sup> Peter Tomory, notes for the author, 30 July 2001.

<sup>788</sup> Bernice Murphy, interview, 7 December 2003.

<sup>789</sup> Ibid.

<sup>790</sup> Schiff (ed.), *German essays*, p. liii.

<sup>791</sup> Bernice Murphy, 7 December 2003.

For Franz Philipp art and history not only selected particular features of civilization, but it recaptured 'time past'. The artist, Philipp felt, was able to invest and store within a painting the experience of pleasure, desire, anger, guilt or obligation. In other words, art may be 'a reduction of complexities',<sup>792</sup> but it was an exposition of real time, be it past or present,<sup>793</sup> and Franz Philipp saw it as his obligation to retrieve and analyse those complexities. (plate 45)

Joseph Burke was fully aware of Philipp's intellectual capacity, and had utilised the young Viennese scholar's bibliographical skills in 1947 when establishing a rudimentary art history library. It was not long before Burke attributed the distinction of 'principal architect' of the School of Art History to Philipp. Some saw this as a magnanimous way of conferring responsibility without appropriately compensating this brilliant émigré academic for an increasingly demanding role. It perhaps reveals also that Burke's duties as the Herald Professor outside the University was causing greater demands and that these conflicted with his academic responsibilities. Either way, Franz Philipp was integral to its administration and was seminal to the intellectual design of the department. His collegial relationship with Burke was at first close, mutually beneficial and progressive.<sup>794</sup> Both seized the opportunity to plant the seeds of European art historical scholarship and culture in a virgin field, for this was the first School of Fine Arts in an Australian University. Both men were aware of the need for cultural renewal in this small, antipodean world, and their emissary zeal reflected what Arthur Koestler had written of the mood that infiltrated the intelligentsia after the First World War, that 'The whole body of ideas had undergone a radical transformation: Relativity and Quantum mechanics, Hormonology and Psycho-analysis, Leninism and Behaviorism, Aviation and Wireless, Expressionism and Surrealism — a completely new universe had taken shape in the library'.<sup>795</sup> Their desire for 'rebuilding' and formulating 'utopian' ideals after the second war was equally important to both men for various and probably different reasons. Yet this re-constructive period gave Franz Philipp the opportunity to work with Burke on course structures that would establish

<sup>792</sup> John Armstrong, philosophy lectures, University of Melbourne, 2<sup>nd</sup> semester, 2002.

<sup>793</sup> John Armstrong, lecture, 5 September 2002, which dealt with the human condition and the notion of time, knowledge and memory.

<sup>794</sup> June Philipp, interview, September 2001.

<sup>795</sup> Arthur Koestler, 'The intelligentsia', *Meanjin Papers*, iv (no.1, Autumn 1945), p.46.



and endorse the high ideals of scholarship so fundamental to Philipp's intellectual life; ideals that would carry the department forward for decades.<sup>796</sup>

If, as has been argued, the Australian educational, intellectual and cultural conditions up to 1945 had been in a state of 'arrested development' due to its derivative 'colonial dependency',<sup>797</sup> then it is understandable that Burke was able to assist in the reorganization of its higher education, as Burke knew the Empire's strengths and weaknesses. But Burke's emissary position operated best at a public, bureaucratic level. When it came to co-ordinating a strategy towards the teaching of a new discipline within an Australian university, that of the whole field of art history, then the task of staffing requirements and academic structuring was often passed to Franz Philipp, both during Burke's presence and his absence. It was, according to June Stewart, Franz Philipp who seized on the opportunity to secure Bernard Smith, an appointment which took some years to eventuate.

As the 'architect' of the School of Fine Arts, Philipp's importance may best be recognised in an article that he wrote in 1948, titled 'Some Notes on the Study of the History of Art'. In the final paragraph Philipp maps out the structure and aspirations of the School of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne.

Australian Art almost entirely originates from European traditions. An understanding of the European background will thus throw much light on the special problems of the Australian scene. For a young civilization, still much in the state of flux, both the achievements and failings of the old world are of equal importance and relevance. It is particularly the relation between art and society which I have in mind in this connection.<sup>798</sup>

Franz Philipp saw that 'the function of a fine arts course' within a university should serve other disciplines such as History, Architecture and Social Sciences, and that the historian of art was capable of 'co-ordinating' a more balanced perspective of periods taught in other disciplines. His belief that the 'fine arts of a period are perhaps more significant of the collective content of a civilization, of its communal temper and atmosphere than even its literature or its music,' may have seemed pretentious to some

<sup>796</sup> Philipp was appointed as a lecturer in the Department of Fine Arts in 1950 after a period as an assistant lecturer. He was promoted to Senior Lecturer in 1954 and Reader in 1964.

<sup>797</sup> L.T. Hergenhahn, 'Brian Penton's 1930s novels: the "roots of the new psyche"' in Bernard Smith (ed.), *Culture and history: essays presented to Jack Lindsay*, Sydney, Hale & Ironmonger, 1984, p.76.

<sup>798</sup> Philipp, 'Some notes on the study of history of art', *Present opinion*, iii (no.1, 1948), p.70.

of the University's 'god professors' in 1948, but Philipp argued his case.<sup>799</sup> This was the cultural historian speaking, the man who saw that all roads in the modern world converged, even in times of 'cruelty, harshness and frustration'.<sup>800</sup> Even when some of those roads remained 'time-bound' through specific social, military, historical and cultural episodes, it was in Philipp's view the 'timeless' quality of art that best defined those manifestations.

<sup>799</sup> Ibid, p.69.

<sup>800</sup> Ibid, p.70.

## Five

### Melbourne in the 1950s

The 1950s [was] either the beginning of the present or the end of the past.

Richard White.<sup>801</sup>

Unlike the passionate, angry years of the 1940s, when the concept of individualism obtained a remarkable degree of vitalism, and the most adventurous art had 'a sort of wild-cat spirit, unformed, uncertain of [its] destiny',<sup>802</sup> art in the 1950s in Australia became more passive, objective and reflective. This environment caused some Australian artists to abandon their homelands for the artistic strongholds of Europe, even though many of these centres were still recovering from the massive damage of war. Avant-garde and restless intelligentsia left the country. Albert Tucker departed for Paris and London in 1947; Gino Nibbi returned to Rome in 1947; Sidney Nolan left for England and America in 1951; Fred Williams chose London in 1950; and Robin Boyd journeyed over as much of Europe, England and Ireland as was possible in the same year. But for those who stayed, and indeed for those who arrived, the decade would be defined as one in which a nation played safe, and its culture became more cautious. The early 1950s was a time as unsure of itself and the direction in which it was going as it was hopeful. This general uncertainty reflected an international situation, where post-war adjustment included an ongoing disassemblage of European culture and its reassemblage by refugees and émigrés settled elsewhere. However, what distinguishes

<sup>801</sup> Richard White, 'The retreat from adventure: popular travel writing in the 1950s' in John Murphy and Judith Smart (eds) *The forgotten fifties: Aspects of Australian Society and culture in the 1950s*, (no. 109 of *Australian Historical Studies*, October 1997), Melbourne, MUP, 1997, p.90.

<sup>802</sup> John Reed, 'Artbiography', *Overland*, ci (December 1985), 58. Reed's reference is to Sidney Nolan.

cultural exchanges in this post-war period from that of the decade from the mid 1930s to the mid 1940s was an awareness of and an interactivity with cultures that had recently undergone a radical metamorphosis — a result of the critical conditions of the diaspora. The fifties emerged as a time of reciprocal exchange under less pressurised conditions.

Also understandable was the desire for a better standard of living. David Walker has written of the 'suburbia mentality' of the inter-war years of the 1920s and 1930s as a period when Australians retreated from social responsibility and reform — both a symptom and a reaction that accompanied a disillusionment towards the notion of 'progressive moral enlightenment'.<sup>803</sup> After the second post-war period when rationing was lifted — around 1949 to 1950 — society succumbed again to the 'suburbia mentality', but in this post-war reconstructive period, new world utopian consumerism — a materialist moral, cultural and spiritual response — was even more powerful. The seduction of advertising, with its elegance, style and fashions, may have been antithetical to the ennui of the 1920s and the poverty-stricken 1930s, but several features appear consistent in both post-war psychological conditions. Machine-age materialism, functional design methods and other modern *accoutrements* were the new gods in a world disenchanted with traditional religious philosophies, institutions, politics and idealism. A sustained economic upturn by the mid 1950s consolidated this new materialism, but it sat at odds with the insidious threat of cold war politics and an increasing fear of communism. The combination of global political insecurity with a rising prosperity pushed the majority of Australians into a superficial complacency.

During this paradoxical decade, a desire for change emerged particularly amongst the intelligentsia and artists, where existentialist ideas began to circulate. In an article for *Meanjin* in 1948 the Professor of Philosophy at the University of Melbourne, Boyce Gibson, wrote that 'We are at the beginning of a new philosophy'.<sup>804</sup> This new philosophy of existentialism, Gibson explained, repudiated the Greek philosophical tradition, the scholastic logic associated with German enlightenment philosophers such as G. F. Hegel, and 'the modern metaphysical

<sup>803</sup> Walker, *Dreams and disillusion*, p.148.

<sup>804</sup> A. Boyce Gibson, 'Existentialism: an interim report', *Meanjin*, vii (no.1, Autumn 1948), 41.

tradition.<sup>805</sup> Indeed, existentialist atheism, the new twentieth century credo, placed the needs of the individual above that of universal principles. This was in part because of 'the trauma of time' and the 'amputation of old world order and security' as it was replaced by new threats of the cold war.<sup>806</sup> The pursuit of comfort and security, similar to the first post-war reaction to peace, became a middle zone of deference, a theme perfectly suited to the decade of the 1950s. This vogue for comfort was especially evident amongst the bourgeoisie, the social and moneyed elite who could be found in more salubrious environments such as the Paris end of Collins Street, in the Melbourne Club and its counterpart the Lyceum Club, or the new National Gallery Society established in 1947, where art and the cultural environment tended to encourage a pseudo-sexual equality between middle class men and women.

The general social and art scene in Melbourne, however, remained geographically and ideologically disconnected,<sup>807</sup> with pockets of artistic activity operating in and around the city, and where groups of artists, musicians, actors and intellectuals favoured certain cafes or hotels, exhibiting where and when they could afford, and aspiring to 'make it on the professional scene'.<sup>808</sup> The Swanston Family Hotel became the main stamping ground for artists and intellectuals of the left, usually associated with socialism and what was known as The Drift, while George and Mirka Mora's studio/flat in Grosvenor Chambers in Collins Street and later Mirka's Café in Exhibition Street were appealing for their bohemian *chic*. The Eltham set, led by Clifton Pugh at his artists' colony 'Dunmoochin', offered an anti-establishment, bucolic *rendezvous*, but — as Daniel Thomas has suggested — this was 'the hangout for Melbourne's most avant-garde artists, the emerging taschists and abstract expressionists, and the only place where women artists were not marginalised'.<sup>809</sup> Nearby the University, Jimmy Watson's provided a more exclusive meeting place for academics. (plates 46 & 47)

<sup>805</sup> Ibid.

<sup>806</sup> Frank Kermode, 'The artist in war and peace', *Meanjin* (Winter, 1946, no.2), 123–128.

<sup>807</sup> John and Helen Brack interview 15 September 1994.

<sup>808</sup> John and Helen Brack, interview, 15 September 1994.

<sup>809</sup> Daniel Thomas, 'Creative displacements', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no.4, 1993), 483.

### Mostly a man's world

Melbourne, however, remained a city divided, in gender, class and cultural values and expectations. According to Chris Wallace Crabbe 'It was a man's world ... Women belonged to another, private sphere as a rule, figuring little in our discussion, except as examples of type or tendency'.<sup>810</sup> Occasionally there was a serious gesture of acknowledgment for the opposite gender. In 1949 Stanley Coe appointed Helen Ogilvie to transform the upstairs area of his interior design shop at 435 Bourke Street into a commercial exhibition gallery, and Ogilvie approached her friends Ursula Hoff, Arnold Shore and Alan McCulloch for advice regarding the selection of artists.<sup>811</sup>

The *Australian Women's Weekly* may have represented women as domesticated goddesses and hostesses, but by 1955 it had elevated its gendered face by challenging the only other major portrait prize in Australia, 'The Archibald', with its own *Australian Women's Weekly* Portrait Prize worth £1500. After opening at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, this exhibition travelled to Melbourne where it was displayed at the National Gallery of Victoria, but importantly it gave women artists recognition with £500 awarded for the best portrait by a woman painter. The recently arrived Viennese artist Judy Cassab was the first to win this section.<sup>812</sup>

There were some, however, who protested and parodied the climate of comfort and conformity. Melbourne's *enfant terrible*, Barry Humphries, found fifties

<sup>810</sup> Chris Wallace Crabbe, 'The Foo Scene'. I am grateful to Chris Wallace Crabbe for allowing me to quote from his unpublished manuscript.

<sup>811</sup> Hoff, interview, February 1999. According to Helen and John Brack (interview 15 September 1994) Ogilvie gained a reputation for wanting to help young artists to become acknowledged. Moreover, she had the connections to make this happen. Successive exhibitions managed by her continued to place an emphasis on the best emerging artists of this period, such as Charles Blackman, Sidney Nolan, Ian Fairweather, Fred Williams, Inge and Grahame King and John Brack. See Sheridan Palmer, *'All this I knew'* Helen Ogilvie retrospective exhibition catalogue, Ballarat, BFAG, 1995. The National Gallery of Victoria purchased some of its important contemporary works from this gallery between 1950 and 1963, including John Brack's *The Barber's Shop*, 1952 (John Brack, Exhibition Catalogue, NGV, 1987, p.12) and *Collins Street, 5pm*, 1956 (Sasha Grishin, *The art of John Brack*, ii, Melbourne, OUP, 1990) pp.3 and 9.

<sup>812</sup> The *Australian Women's Weekly* Portrait Prize lasted for only five years from 1955 to 1959, 'owing to differences arising between organisers and the trustees of interstate galleries'. See Alan McCulloch, *Encyclopedia of Australian art*, ii, p.922. Judy Cassab's winning portrait was of the top Sydney fashion model Judy Barraclough.

Melbourne a parochial and suffocating place<sup>813</sup> and Inge King, a newly arrived émigré, equated initially her impression of Melbourne to 'a can of flat beer'.<sup>814</sup> Felix Werder felt that 'We had everything and we had nothing'.<sup>815</sup> Yet, during this cultural intermission, Australian expansionism, largely an American, British and multinational industrial drive, provided Australia with a new internationalist focus.

By comparison with the decade of the 1940s which had accepted thousands of European refugees and exiles, the decade of the 1950s embraced an even greater number, with immigration restricted not just to skilled labour but embracing utilitarian mass muscle power. James Jupp has pointed out that 'in 1948, 70,000 assisted migrants came to Australia' and by 1951 the immigration programme, a strategically developed plan so as not to 'upset the domestic labour or housing situation', was weighted towards 'alien Europeans'.<sup>816</sup> Proportionately, the percentage of intellectual and cultural elites may have been considerably smaller than that of the forties with its shipload of *Dunera* intellectuals, but in the next wave of Europeans there were many who imbued and expanded the cultural landscape by consolidating modernism and strengthening Australia's nascent multi-culturalism.<sup>817</sup>

Architects endorsed the notion of 'the lucky country' with modernist designs that celebrated 'utopian creations of light, structural experiment and sunshine'.<sup>818</sup> A growing contingent of European architects and photographers had begun arriving in Australia from 1938 and immediately imprinted their New International style on a generation of young Australian architects, with various commissions in Melbourne, Canberra and other major centres. These included the German photographers Wolfgang Sievers, Helmut Newton, Margaret Michaelis and Henry Talbot (formerly Heinz Tichauer, *Dunera*) and the architects Frederick Romberg, Fritz Janeba, Kurt Popper and Ernst Fooks. Another photographer Mark Strizic and the Czechoslovakian

<sup>813</sup> See Ian Britain, 'Barry Humphries and the "Feeble Fifties"' in *Forgotten fifties*, pp.6–20.

<sup>814</sup> Judith Trimble, *Inge King sculptor*, Sydney, Craftsman House, 1996, pp.16.

<sup>815</sup> Felix Werder, interview, September 2001.

<sup>816</sup> The approximate number of non-British Jewish men and women arriving in Australia between 1933 and 1954 was 25,000. This was based on a 1954 census in Charles A. Price, *Jewish settlers in Australia*, Sydney, Australian Jewish Historical Society, 1964, p.10. See Jupp, *Arrivals and departures*, pp.6–7.

<sup>817</sup> Australia imposed 'two years of bonded employment in manual work' on professional 'displaced persons', *ibid*, p.8.

<sup>818</sup> Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon, 'Modernism versus domesticity: the contest to shape Melbourne's homes, 1945–1960', in *Forgotten fifties*, pp.33–4

architect Alex Jelinek arrived around 1950. Émigré architects and photographers were highly sought after by architectural firms, particularly the Melbourne firms of Stephenson and Turner, and Yunken Freeman, and gradually the Europeans implanted their visions onto the Australian cityscape.<sup>819</sup> Wolfgang Sievers was commissioned in 1950 by the Department of Overseas Affairs to photograph major industries around Australia that represented the dramatic growth and prosperity of the country. Comalco, Alcoa oil refineries, sulphuric acid industrial plants, established wineries and the uranium and steel industries became the subject of his lens. His photographs of 'the clean design of the machines', brilliantly utilised Bauhausian modernist visualisation — an aesthetic concept and methodology Sievers learnt at the Berlin Contempora School of Fine Arts in the early 1930s.<sup>820</sup> Sievers along with Helmet Newton, Athol Shmith and Mark Strizic became instrumental in re-shaping Australia's industrial, cultural and national image with their European and internationalist vision.<sup>821</sup>

Art, music and literature assumed a certain concordance with the new world functionalism and its existentialist thrust for the man in the present. John Brack's paintings, drawings and prints of the 1950s intellectually satirised Australian suburbia or the conformity of city workers and pub drinkers. His stylistic combination of social realism and surrealist melancholy embraced the essence of modernity, employing the line as economically and deftly as the modernist architects. (plate 48) Brack used knowledge as a sharp tool, and his clever appropriation of the European masters such as George Seurat, Edouard Manet, Francois Boucher and Balthus, who similarly chose to represent the life of the present, were central to his critical dissection of society. For Brack 'the past is revisited and used to illuminate the present'.<sup>822</sup> His interest in traditional and contemporary art appealed to Ursula Hoff with whom he worked at the National Gallery. Their intellectual interplay, where Brack informed Hoff about the

<sup>819</sup> Sievers, 'A Modern View: in Conversation with Wolfgang Sievers', State Library of Victoria, 27 April, 2004.

<sup>820</sup> Ibid; Sievers, interview, 2 May 2004.

<sup>821</sup> During the 1960s the Fine Arts Department used the photographers Mark Strizic, Peter Moore and Nigel Beusst (possibly on a casual basis) to take photographs of exhibitions and works of art, such as Sidney Nolan's exhibition at the Australian Galleries, Nine Melbourne Sculptors and a Leonard French exhibition at the Argus Gallery, as well as the *Rebels and precursors* exhibition at the National Gallery in 1962, UMA/Acc. Fine Arts, 1947–62.

<sup>822</sup> Patrick McCaughey, introduction to Robert Lindsay, *John Brack: a retrospective exhibition*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1987, p.8.



present and Hoff's scholarship expanded the iconography of the past for Brack, had a profound impact upon Brack's work.<sup>823</sup>

The Australian aesthetic underwent a further change during the fifties. Instead of a continent and a 'culture on the edge', Australian artists sought affirmation in terms of subject matter through a revisitation of the *terra incognita* and its archetypal images, the great deserts and their stoic inhabitants, the inclusion and reference to Aboriginal art and culture through art, textile and graphic designs. This was a decade of reassessment and assertion, a period of establishing Australia as a place, not a peripheral relation. Franz Philipp was particularly aware of this and felt that Arthur Boyd's frank assessment of Australian art during the late 1930s, 1940s and 1950s captured an essential quality of this period, 'There is a sort of gaucheness and toughness, almost a rawness about Australian painting. It's not provincial in the sense that Australian painters are not aware of what's going on overseas. There's a sort of lack of finesse which is a good thing'.<sup>824</sup>

As post-war regeneration continued, the present dominated people's lives. The United States of America at this time grabbed the economic, cultural and political masthead, and began encroaching into many European and Asian countries.<sup>825</sup> With much of Europe's and Britain's reconstruction moving slowly, and life 'still beset by post-war austerity and the state deliberately suppressing consumption in favour of rebuilding',<sup>826</sup> Australia was the recipient of an increasingly virulent Americanisation:

At the end of the war, only the United States had the strength and resources to fill the power vacuum into which international Communism sought to move. To strengthen the free world, the United States then embarked upon an extensive foreign assistance effort which has lasted well over a decade.<sup>827</sup>

<sup>823</sup> Refer p.157 and footnote 655 above. Helen Brack, interview, 2 March 2000.

<sup>824</sup> Arthur Boyd, quoted in Philipp, *Boyd*, p.12. See Peter Beilharz on Australia's position within a modernist global context, 'Australian civilisation and its discontents', *Thesis eleven*, London, Sage Publications, 2001, pp.65-76.

<sup>825</sup> Earlier in the war, Professor Ted Sizer, of the Yale University Art Gallery, came to Australia to select works for an exhibition *Art of Australia*, an exercise in American and Australian relations, through the Carnegie Foundation and leading State and regional galleries. Its purpose was to outline Australia's cultural development from a struggling 'primitive' land to the flourishing and vigorous democracy that she was in 1941. The exhibition was chaperoned by the Hon. R.G. Casey and his wife Maie. See Sydney Ure Smith (ed.), *Art of Australia, 1788-1941*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1941.

<sup>826</sup> Thomas Crow, *The rise of the sixties*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1996, p.39.

<sup>827</sup> 'US foreign aid since World War II', in the Clay Committee Report, Washington 1963, distributed by the United States Information Service, American Embassy, Canberra, UMA/BP.

The pleasures of this new American capitalism was coveted after the moral and physical hardships of the war years. America's indisputable presence, particularly its materialism and consumerism, created what has been described as a diminishing gap between politics and culture. This was evident in the Hollywood movies and magazines available within Australia,<sup>828</sup> but it also extended to cultural gifts to major institutions, such as forty-one colour reproductions of American paintings presented in 1951 by the United States Information Library to the National Gallery of Victoria.<sup>829</sup> By 1956, Australia's allegiance had drifted — along with other nations — towards the American modernist dream. The post-war emphasis on improved conditions for the family promoted culture as a viable commodity, and with this shift the pursuit of 'high culture and popular culture' began to develop in new and interesting ways. One example of attracting people to contemporary art was the *Herald* Outdoor Art Show in the Fitzroy Gardens. This new public format advocated a socially democratic view of art, its aims reflected in Joseph Burke's statement that 'The prejudice that art is an expensive luxury reserved for the rich was broken down. Many found that they could afford to buy an original work of art for the first time'.<sup>830</sup> In the forward to the 1955 exhibition catalogue, Burke challenged the art audience to become more assertive in their evaluation of art, but nevertheless emphasised that it was still an experiment in educating the community. For the more adventurous art buyer, the Contemporary Art Society's 1955 exhibition, held in the Preston Motors showrooms in Russell Street, provided a more challenging style of modernism.

As reforms gained ground there nevertheless remained a defiant dedication and a dutiful conscience towards Britain. Melbourne in particular continued to be run at its heart and in its established institutions by a 'British garrison of headmasters, editors, bishops and other intelligentsia'.<sup>831</sup> This was felt more within private schools, the university, and certain social and cultural enclaves such as elite clubs and the National Gallery of Victoria. In the latter half of the fifties, one of the more interesting locations where the two aesthetic paradigms of high and popular culture met — and where

<sup>828</sup> Amongst the most popular American magazines were *Harper's Bazaar* and *Life*.

<sup>829</sup> Report of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 1951–2, SLV/NGVT.

<sup>830</sup> Burke, *Herald Outdoor Art Exhibition* catalogue, 1953, UMA/BP.

<sup>831</sup> Humphrey McQueen, *Suburbs of the sacred: transforming Australian beliefs and values*, Penguin Books, 1988.

British, European, American and Australian cultural influences intersected — was at the National Gallery of Victoria. Modern acquisitions became more frequent with works such as a Henri Matisse's *Nude Reclining* acquired in 1952 and Francis Bacon's 1949 *Study of the Human Body* acquired in 1953.<sup>832</sup> In the Prints and Drawings department, Ursula Hoff purchased in the same year a Paul Klee *Thistle Picture* and Marc Chagall's *Lion and rat*.<sup>833</sup> In 1956, with the appointment of the Englishman Eric Westbrook as the new director, modern exhibitions became a regular feature aimed at the new modern audience. Westbrook employed Leonard French in 1957 as the Gallery's exhibition display officer to implement a programme that would broaden the visitor base and popularise art. The 'Survey' shows, which presented 'major themes and idioms in contemporary art', reflected a new departure in the Gallery's exhibition programme, bringing the institution more in line with the present and 'animating the place'.<sup>834</sup>

For many this was the beginning of the present, but for some, like Daryl Lindsay and Ursula Hoff, it was also a time of increasing tension between the introduction of innovative concepts and maintaining the Gallery's traditional reputation.

### Cultural Courtships

Daryl Lindsay and Joseph Burke sought each other out with a compulsion usually associated with new lovers. The Melbourne Club, a haven for Lindsay and Burke, became the entertainment centre *par excellence* for the Herald Professor. Within its

<sup>832</sup> Hoff and Plant, *The National Gallery of Victoria: painting, drawing, sculpture*, 1968, pp.122 and 154.

<sup>833</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 127 and 136.

<sup>834</sup> Heathcote, *Quiet revolution*, p.55.

privacy, Burke commanded and enlisted the wealthy and the business elite.<sup>835</sup> At the Gallery, where Lindsay and Burke strolled amongst the collections, they formulated cultural and inter-institutional plans. At the University, Daryl Lindsay, along with a stream of socialite women, was a constant visitor to the professorial 'Bushey House' in Tin Alley where Burke and his staff first had their rooms.<sup>836</sup> Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp, however, were accommodated in a small ex-army portable outside the building. This 'outsider' separation seemed portentous of the divisiveness that would occur later in the 1960s.

From their entrepreneurial union, Burke and Lindsay created numerous important cultural bodies, all of which were a result of Burke's active mind and his desire 'to catalyse those impulses that were waiting here. He worked on people and persuaded them to form the National Trust, the National Gallery Society with Leonard Cox',<sup>837</sup> the Melbourne Club's Art Committee and the Society of Collectors with Daryl Lindsay and Aubrey Gibson.<sup>838</sup> The Society of Collectors was an elite gentleman's art club, and one of Burke's more coveted creations. It reflected those English traits that Burke most enjoyed, the art of fine conversation, food, wine and the company of men. At the society's annual meetings at the University, it enabled him to translate the art of the connoisseur within the precinct of Melbourne's establishment. As Burke stated, 'For one gentleman to ask another for money, however good the cause, can be even more deplorable. The civilised procedure is to put opportunities for generosity in the way of one's friends so that they don't notice it until later'.<sup>839</sup> The Society, however, was important in 'promot[ing] the cause of collecting in Australia and specifically to

<sup>835</sup> Burke obtained membership of several elite London Clubs during the war, such as the Churchill Club. These havens created an elite fraternity of superiority which Burke transferred to the Melbourne Club.

<sup>836</sup> Hilda Fletcher, interview, August 2001; Laurie O'Brien, telephone interview, 17 August 2004. Burke and his secretary Hilda Fletcher had the downstairs of Bushey House, and Clem Christesen initially had his *Meanjin* office upstairs, though according to O'Brien the School of Social Sciences was installed there by the 1950s.

<sup>837</sup> June Stewart, interview, 17 May 2001.

<sup>838</sup> Aubrey Gibson was a company director and a Trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria. He was closely associated with Burke's Society of Collectors and Daryl Lindsay's National Trust.

<sup>839</sup> 'Society of Collectors of the Fine Arts: Annual Dinner', 17 October 1978, UMA/BP.

help the University of Melbourne add to its collection'.<sup>840</sup> Its motto, *a minimus incipe*, belied Burke's ambition for a significant University art collection, as some of the first art works given to the Society included a Joseph M. W. Turner watercolour *View of Andernach* and several engravings from Stephen Courtauld, Sir Samuel Coutauld's brother; an early wood-engraving *the adoration of the Magi* by Dürer from Joan Lindsay; and Burke himself donated an Ian Fairweather *Hell* and Henry Moore pastel, 'Family Group'.<sup>841</sup> As Burke wrote in 1962:

A university cannot be true to its ideal while it excludes from its study one of the greatest spheres of human achievement. So long as art is excluded, it is like a body missing one of its limbs. ... The Ashmolean at Oxford and the Fitzwilliam at Cambridge house great collections of art, and they are University collections. The scholars who administer them are members of the University.<sup>842</sup>

While Cambridge had the Fitzwilliam Museum, Oxford the Ashmolean and the Courtauld Institute the Witt, Conway, Courtauld and Lee art collections — all regarded as assets and educational resources that Burke had been privileged to use and enjoy — there were several significant differences between a great city such as London and its regional university towns, and a provincial city such as Melbourne. London could well afford to boast many autonomous institutions and art collections given the historical wealth and quantity of patrons. But again Burke blended the lines of regionalism and metropolitanism and forged ahead with his concept of the Society of Collectors.

The emphasis placed on countries and cultures other than Australia remained a fixed point of reference in the post-war years. Everything, it seemed, was weighed in the balance of Australia's relationship with the greater universe, whether it was new world populist or political policies or European intellectual and cultural material. The National Gallery of Victoria continued to look mostly to Great Britain for much of its cultural exchanges. In the early post-war stage, just as two of Melbourne's most active and revolutionary art enterprises were foundering — the Contemporary Artists Society

<sup>840</sup> *University of Melbourne catalogue of works of art 1971*, Melbourne, 1971, p.xiv. Members at the inaugural dinner in 1950 included Kym Bonython, Tristan Beusst, Clive Fitts, Ken Myer, Norman Wettenhall, UMA/BP.

<sup>841</sup> *University of Melbourne catalogue of works of art 1971*, art works nos. 535 (p.55), 413 (p.43) and 488 (p.50).

<sup>842</sup> Burke, 'The fine arts and the Australian universities', *Vestes*, vi (no.4, December 1963), 259–66.

and John Reed and Max Harris's *Angry Penguins* publication — two exhibitions were sent from England through the British Council, one considerably more important than the other. The Wakefield exhibition, an enormous contingent of two hundred and twenty pictures representing one hundred and fifty-eight British artists of the twentieth century, opened in September 1947 to a poor reception. Joseph Burke in a letter to Sir Kenneth Clark audaciously reproached the 'second-rate' material sent to Australia and suggested that Clark try to dispel the perception that culturally Australians were not 'suckers' but discerning spectators of art who could not be fooled by inferior works of culture. On the other hand, the Henry Moore exhibition of sculptures and drawings made a considerable impact, and went some way to 'rehabilitate the British Council'.<sup>843</sup> Ironically, these two exhibitions were closely associated with Eric Westbrook who was to be appointed director of the National Gallery of Victoria in 1956.<sup>844</sup>

Joseph Burke, who gave the opening speech at the Henry Moore exhibition spoke of its importance: 'The British Council ... has broken down the barriers of isolation and placed us in direct contact with the living art of Europe'.<sup>845</sup> But there was a more nostalgic element to Burke's overture. Among the twenty-six drawings exhibited were ten crayon and watercolour drawings of the London tube shelters, images that invoked Burke's involvement with the Home Ministry during the war. According to Burke, it had been at his suggestion that Henry Moore visited the air-raid shelters and make drawings during the bombing of London. Burke also claimed that he was responsible for the artist being accredited as an official war artist.<sup>846</sup> Burke spoke of the importance of the artist in war, but also captured the transcendence of art:

Moore's imagination had stripped the scene of its accessories and grasped its essence, the ghostliness, the hush of expectancy and the fantastic unreality.

<sup>843</sup> Burke to Clark, 9 March 1948, TGA/KCP.

<sup>844</sup> Westbrook was director of the Wakefield City Art Gallery at the time of these exhibitions. After the war the British Council, concerned at projecting British art overseas, seconded Westbrook as their chief exhibition officer and he spent four years travelling around Europe installing exhibitions including the first retrospective exhibition of Henry Moore in London, Germany, Holland, France, Italy and Greece. Eric Westbrook, telephone interview, 19 February 2002.

<sup>845</sup> Burke, opening speech of the Henry Moore Exhibition at the NGV, 4 March 1948, UMA/BP/86.37/Personal correspondence.

<sup>846</sup> Ibid. Burke was attached to Sir John Anderson in the Home Ministry at the time of Moore's appointment as an official war artist.

Under his touch the London tubes became one with the catacombs of ancient Rome or the subterranean tombs of Egypt... War had shaken the materialistic outlook and had established, in many cases for the first time, a common bond with the artist.<sup>847</sup>

After these two international exhibitions, the National Gallery of Victoria put on several major Australian exhibitions such as the Tom Roberts Memorial Exhibition in 1948, the Emanuel Phillips Fox exhibition in 1949 and the Frederick McCubbin Exhibition in 1955. Ursula Hoff recalled that these were amongst the first big 'survey shows' of a single artist's work in an Australian state gallery, though there had been a Sir John Longstaff Memorial Exhibition and a Hugh Ramsey exhibition in 1943, the year that Hoff had joined the staff of the Gallery.<sup>848</sup> In 1953 another international exhibition, *French Painting Today*, toured the six state galleries in Australia, providing for the first time in fourteen years a significant group of major European works of art. Bernard Smith, then at the Australian National University completing his doctorate, believed it was the most important exhibition that Australians had seen since the *Herald's French and British Contemporary Art* in 1939. The *Herald* art critic, Alan McCulloch, suggested to his readers that they should 'relax and enjoy the show', adding that 'an eye sensitive to colour, balance and rhythm cannot fail to find pleasure here.'<sup>849</sup> Robin Boyd, offered a somewhat different perspective, writing that 'Anyone looking for conventional, soothing beauty will be disappointed, for often the pictures are not meant to be soothing or beautiful. They are stimulating and rich in other qualities such as pattern, space, fantasy and movement.' Maie Casey felt that the pictures were 'alive and certainly bucks up the spirits', and Joseph Burke saw the exhibition as 'courageous'. Franz Philipp commented on its quality, range and value to anyone interested in the arts.<sup>850</sup>

<sup>847</sup> Ibid.

<sup>848</sup> Hoff, interviewed by James Mellon, 26 January 1989, SLV Oral History Collection. Many works were borrowed from private collectors, regional and state galleries, corporate collections and the University of Melbourne Ewing Collection.

<sup>849</sup> *Herald*, undated newscutting in the possession of the author.

<sup>850</sup> Unidentified newscutting in the possession of the author.

Bernard Smith, however, had a criticism to make, not of the exhibition itself, which had a record attendance of 85,000,<sup>851</sup> but of Australia's continuing cultural isolation:

In the visual arts far more than in any of the other arts, Australia suffers from its continued isolation from the art centres of the world. The Australian Government and the Australian galleries should do all they can to make such exhibitions as this one a permanent feature of the cultural life of the country.<sup>852</sup>

Isolation, it inevitably seemed, was Australia's albatross, something that would hound its cultural and intellectual profile for at least several more decades. In dealing with the arts, Sir Kenneth Clark believed that 'Provincialism' could be explained:

European art has been, to a large extent, the history of a series of centres, from each of which radiated a style. For a shorter or longer period that style dominated the art of the time, became in fact an international style, which was metropolitan at its centre, and became more and more provincial as its reached the periphery.<sup>853</sup>

The centre, Clark claimed was 'a single energizing unit' that became more diluted as distance increased. Australia, many felt — apart from progress gained during the marvellous decades of the 1860s to the late 1880s — was provincial and the sum of many parts, an aggregation of styles and cultural diffusionism, a neo-Europe or, by the 1950s, a response to American stimuli.<sup>854</sup> Robin Boyd believed that Australia was emerging from its cultural hiatus and was becoming increasingly well placed within the new world as a revitalised cultural state. He attributed part of this to the new salutary modernism espoused by émigré architects, craftsmen, artists and intellectuals and its immediate positive acceptance by local professionals. In a similar idealist vein to that of Vance Palmer nearly a decade earlier,<sup>855</sup> Boyd wrote:

I deny suggestions that we are so handicapped by physical isolation and small population, or that our public consists of sports-mad feather-brains so apathetic to cultural activity that a sincere artist must starve. I believe that Australians are no more or no less interested in and capable of appreciation of

<sup>851</sup> Report of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 1952–3, SLV/NGVT.

<sup>852</sup> Bernard Smith, 'The French Art Exhibition', *Meanjin*, xii (no.2, Winter 1953), 174.

<sup>853</sup> Sir Kenneth Clark, *Provincialism*, Presidential Address, November 1962, The English Association, London, p.3.

<sup>854</sup> Beilharz, 'Australian civilisation', p.67.

<sup>855</sup> See Palmer, 'Battle'.



subtlety and imagination in the visual arts than the people of any other country. I do believe that Australia, with its high standard of education and living, today offers one of the greatest fields for artistic creation in the world.<sup>856</sup>

### The Partnership: Art and Education

With culture and education seen as a panacea for a strictured national psyche, Sir John Medley, a British expatriate and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne from 1938 to 1951, was convinced that the arts and education should be more publicly forged.<sup>857</sup> His role in humanising the University, which he had regarded as an elitist training facility that 'operated like a gentleman's club', was important, particularly in regard to the fine arts.<sup>858</sup> Medley — who had been appointed a Trustee of the Library and the National Gallery in 1940 and became Chairman of the Gallery Trustees after Sir Keith Murdoch's death in 1952 — advocated a concept of inter-institutionalism that came to characterise much of what developed or was attempted in the 1950s. In an opening address for an exhibition at the National Gallery in 1943, he flagged his aim of bringing the cultural and the educational together:

There may be certain people today who question the need for holding an exhibition of this kind during the stress and strain of wartime conditions. I would like to say to these people that, in my opinion, art was never more necessary in our national life than it is at the present time. After all we are in this war to preserve for our children the great tradition of culture which it has taken centuries of civilisation to produce, and which Hitler is trying to stamp out of existence by brute force ... Which brings me to a subject which, as Vice Chancellor of the University, is very dear to my heart. I refer to the very important and to me natural, liaison which should exist between these two great cultural institutions — the home of art — the National Gallery — and the

<sup>856</sup> Geoffrey Serle, *Robin Boyd, a life*, Melbourne, Miegunyah Press, 1995, p.112.

<sup>857</sup> Sir John Medley was active in Australian educational reform. In 1941 he became chairman of the Australian Services Education Council, and was the vice-president of the Australian Council for Education Research in 1943.

<sup>858</sup> See J.D. Medley, 'A chair of fine arts', in *Society of Artists book, 1945-46*, Sydney, Ure Smith, 1946, p.42.

home of intellectual thought – the University. Real culture comes very slowly to a full flowering, and can only be the result of a great deal of hard thinking – above all a study and appreciation of the ways of life and thought in other countries besides our own.<sup>859</sup>

His work towards this alliance prepared the cultural territory into which Joseph Burke stepped as the Herald Professor of Fine Arts in 1947.<sup>860</sup>

Compared to pre-war Paris, London or post-war New York, Australia had as yet neither the 'confidence' nor the 'coherency of a metropolis'<sup>861</sup> and Joseph Burke, aware of the disadvantages of distance and that antipodean culture had remained largely dependent upon other cultures, strode into every area of art and industry to challenge insularity and push the native born artists and intellectuals out of the periphery and towards the centre. His encouragement of young painters such as Sidney Nolan, Russell Drysdale, Noel Counihan, the theatre and costume designer Barry Kay, the architects Robin Boyd and Roy Grounds, as well as his colleagues Franz Philipp and Gordon Thomson, students, businessmen and friends, to venture to England or America furnished with introductions is representative of Burke's altruistic patronage. It was an attempt at alleviating some of the conditions of what Burke saw as 'provincialism'. Moreover, as a dominant facilitator in 'cultural traffic exchanges', Burke was simultaneously representative of the European world as well as a new statesman for the image of Australia.<sup>862</sup>

<sup>859</sup> John Medley, 'opening speech' at Lionel Lindsay's exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria in 1943.

<sup>860</sup> Keith Murdoch persuaded Medley to become a trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria in 1940, thus commencing Medley's long involvement with its staff and the plans for an independent new Gallery.

<sup>861</sup> Clark, *Provincialism*, p.3.

<sup>862</sup> Drysdale was the first Australian artist on whom Burke wrote a monograph in 1949. Nolan and Grounds became two of Burke's more favoured Australians. Burke referred to Counihan as a humanist 'who celebrated the dignity of the human spirit amongst the humble and oppressed'. UMA/BP (box 4) Of Barry Kay, Burke wrote to Sir Kenneth Clark, 9 May 1956, 'of the three Australian theatre designers I have met, I rank him [Kay] rather below Loudon Sainthill in achievement and rather above Kenneth Rowell in promise'. UMA/BP (box 72). For Franz Philipp's sabbatical in 1955-6, Burke wrote introductory letters to the Australian High Commissioner to London, Sir Thomas White, Dr Margaret Whinney of the Courtauld Institute, Arthur Moyle of the House of Commons, K. T. Parker at the Ashmolean, A. P. Oppe, a brilliant Jewish scholar who had been Deputy Director of the V&A 1910-13, Charles Mitchell, Carl Winter, Nikolaus Pevsner, Edward Croft Murray at the British Museum, John Pope Hennessy of the V&A, Martin Davies of the National Gallery, London, Henry Moore and Thomas Bodkin, the Director of the Barber Institute of Fine Art. Gordon Thomson who left for America in 1955 had introductory letters by Burke to Fiske Kimball of the Philadelphia Museum, Wilmarth Lewis at

Joseph Burke relished his newly acquired power of command, even if he blended the roles of the god-professor with that of the fairy godmother. He considered that one of his most important cultural tasks was the transformation of the 'Cinderella continent's' educational and fine arts future. As an ideas man, he had a large hand in the visits of many dignitaries to Australia, including Sir Kenneth Clark in 1949, T.S. Boase in 1956 and Nikolaus Pevsner in July 1958.<sup>863</sup> Clark's visit was a watershed for the careers of several artists, including Sidney Nolan, Russell Drysdale and Arthur Boyd. As a top British civil servant, Burke knew precisely the language needed for priming major cultural *cognoscenti* such as Clark, and wrote to him regarding his visit. Burke was careful to set the tone of the country and its cultural condition:

In regard to cultural contacts Australia is the Cinderella of the Dominions, and I cannot emphasise too strongly the influence a visit from you would have, and particularly the encouragement it would give to the small band of really good modern artists and lovers of modern art who are keeping the flag flying against great odds ... Australia has ... some first-class contemporary artists – Russell Drysdale, an eccentric called Fairweather who sends his less good pictures to the Redfern and won't part with his best ones, Eric Thake and an extraordinary Byzantine, Justin O'Brien.<sup>864</sup>

Some months later, Burke asked Clark to present a lecture at the University, and to visit 'a young artist working in Melbourne, Sidney Nolan'.<sup>865</sup> This steady flow of information to Clark, reminiscent of the type of information that a British private secretary gave to his minister, helped make Clark's antipodean journey memorable. In an itinerary description of places and people, Burke subtly appealed to the visitor's sense of patronage, wording his recommendations so as to entice the visitor's curiosity. For example, Burke insisted that Clark should see Nolan's work at John Reed's house 'Heide':

---

Yale, W.G. Constable in Boston and James J. Sweeney of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. MUA/BP.

<sup>863</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner and his wife visited Melbourne in July 1958. In his introduction to Pevsner's lectures at the University of Melbourne Burke referred to the 'rise of art historical studies in the United Kingdom in the last twenty five years [as being] attributable largely to the influence of two individuals, the late Dr Saxl and Professor Pevsner'. UMA/BP

<sup>864</sup> Burke to Clark, 30 January 1948, TGA/KCP. Burke's choice of artists was calculated: Drysdale was English by birth, Fairweather was a peripatetic Scotsman; Thake's work was influenced by British graphic artists such as Eric Gill, Eric Ravillious, Edward Wadsworth and Paul Nash; O'Brien had been a prisoner of war as had Fairweather; and Thake had been an Australian war artist.

<sup>865</sup> Burke to Clark, 2 August 1948, UMA/BP. Clark's lecture was on Cézanne.

Sidney Nolan is the most imaginative and original painter whose work I have seen in Australia. He is young and technically immature but shows great promise. [John] Reed, a rather eccentric young man, owns a cycle of paintings illustrating the life of Ned Kelly, the bushranger anarchist and hero of the local schoolboys and communists.<sup>866</sup>

Sir Kenneth Clark visited both Sidney Nolan and Russell Drysdale in their studios in Sydney, buying paintings from both artists.<sup>867</sup> As Burke had anticipated these were small victories that had big repercussions, influencing the National Gallery of Victoria to purchase works of Nolan and Boyd for the first time.<sup>868</sup> He wrote to Clark:

You have raised the morale of a number of people who try to serve the arts in Australia. Daryl [Lindsay] is keener and greatly encouraged; the status of Ursula Hoff in the community has risen out of all recognition... Russell Drysdale and Sidney Nolan have been cheered and feel that their environment is somehow less hostile; Sydney Ure Smith is still talking of your visit and 'kindness'. Secondly, your visit has revived interest both in the Gallery and the modern painters amongst influential people as well as the public. All this is incidental to your task of advising the Felton, but its influence is incalculable.<sup>869</sup>

Though officially the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria and the National Gallery Society sponsored Clark's visit — Burke was a council member of both — his visit was designed to satisfy certain criteria. One of these was to consolidate the Australian Felton Adviser, A. J. L. McDonnell's position. As adjunct-adviser to the Felton bequest, Clark — who was no longer the Director of the National Gallery in London but had been appointed the Slade Professor at Oxford — was keen to divest himself of the Felton Bequest and hand the responsibility across to McDonnell. Clark's visit provided an opportunity to assess the Melbourne collection and take the measure of the Melbourne trustees. His authority therefore helped secure McDonnell's re-appointment.

There was another issue that concerned Clark. Joseph Burke's three-year appointment had almost expired, and Clark's advice would have been pivotal at this

<sup>866</sup> This description was part of an itinerary that Burke sent Clark prior to his departure for Australia in January 1949.

<sup>867</sup> Sidney Nolan to Clark, 3 February 1949; Russell Drysdale to Clark, 29 January 1949, TGA/KCP.

<sup>868</sup> Arthur Boyd's *Irrigation Lake Wimmera* and Sidney Nolan's *Durak Range* were purchased in 1950.

<sup>869</sup> Burke to Clark, 12 February 1949, TGA/KCP.

stage. If Joseph Burke had chosen to leave Australia Clark undoubtedly could have secured a good position for him in London. But Burke was happy in Australia:

My motives in deciding to settle in Australia is a hard one to satisfy. It is certainly not a desire to shake the dust from our feet from a socialist welfare state, or a feeling that England is decadent. On the contrary, I think the moral tone of England at the present moment is higher than anywhere else in the world, particularly since the war. The socialist leaders are by and large educated and intelligent men with a respect for tradition, an affection for the aristocracy and a loathing of communists... There is something to be said for a country where the progressives have always been conservatives, and the conservatives are rapidly becoming progressives.

The simplest answer is that we are enjoying Australia very much, and feel there is a great deal to look forward to in the future, provided of course, there is a future anywhere.<sup>870</sup>

Burke later explained to Nikolaus Pevsner:

I really am tremendously attached to Australia, feel completely identified with the country, in any case, I am heavily involved ... with the promotion of new causes, such as the Industrial Design Council of Australia... Indeed, I do not know whether I could gird myself up to leave this country where we are all so happy.<sup>871</sup>

Notwithstanding these personal preferences, Burke shrewdly suggested in a memorandum to the University Council on the future of the *Herald* Chair that there would be strong advantages in 'having short-term visiting scholars', adding that international scholars would consider the position as 'a most desirable opportunity'.<sup>872</sup> However, he had earlier covered his own interest by writing to the Vice-Chancellor adding that 'if on the other hand I am invited to stay, I shall be greatly encouraged by such a mark of confidence'.<sup>873</sup>

In apparently putting the case for short-term replacements in the Chair, Burke also made the counter-argument based on the problem of distance and 'the reluctance of many whose field in European art history should/could not envisage Australia for longer than a short period'.<sup>874</sup> The same old conundrum of hemispheric dominance,

<sup>870</sup> Burke to Professor B. Nangle, 14 August 1950, UMA/BP/Acc. 83.34.

<sup>871</sup> Burke to Pevsner, 19 February 1959, UMA/BP/Box 7/Acc. 83.34.

<sup>872</sup> Burke, memorandum, 18 May 1949, UMA/Central Administration File, Acc. 312.

<sup>873</sup> Burke to Vice-Chancellor, 29 January 1949, *ibid.*

<sup>874</sup> Burke, memorandum, 18 May 1949.

aggravated by the problem of distance and the difficulties in attracting intellectuals to the antipodes, compounded the effort of searching for another scholar. Added to this was the possibility of not finding as suitable and capable a person as Joseph Burke. The Council resolved the matter by offering Burke life tenure without advertising the position. Some considered this nepotistic opportunism, and that Burke had manipulated the situation to his benefit.<sup>875</sup> Others considered that Burke was now in a position to consolidate the work he had begun, especially as a cultural ambassador.

Joseph Burke and Daryl Lindsay also floated the idea of a series of collaborative exhibitions between the Gallery and the Council of Adult Education. Colin Badger, as head of the latter body, worked closely with Joseph Burke, Ursula Hoff, Gordon Thomson and John Brack on seven of these exhibitions between 1948 and 1956.<sup>876</sup> The combination and alternation of Australian and European works of art was an attempt to educate the public but also to show how Australian art, both traditional and modern, had been influenced by European artists; 'the centres throw up or out: the peripheries receive'.<sup>877</sup> The first exhibition in 1948–9 was titled *Yesterday and today: an exhibition of Australian art*; in 1950–51 *An exhibition of oil paintings by British and European artists*; in 1951 *An exhibition of paintings and drawings by Australian artists*; in 1952 *An exhibition of contemporary paintings by Australian artists*; in 1953 *An exhibition of landscape paintings by English and Australian artists*; in 1954–5 *An exhibition of subject pictures from the eighteenth century to the present day*; and a final show in 1956, an *Exhibition of modern art* which covered Cubism, Expressionism, impressionism and abstraction. This last exhibition included European masters such as Braque, Picasso, Mondrian, Leger, Klee and Severini, while Australian artists such as Margel Lewers, Frank Hinder, Godfrey Miller, Barbara Brash, Roger Kemp and the expatriate Mary Cecil Allen were also included. Furthermore, regional viewers were offered their first opportunity to see international modern art, together with short feature and documentary films provided by consulates and the State Film

<sup>875</sup> June Stewart, interview, 17 May 2001.

<sup>876</sup> This was one way that Burke envisaged taking art out of the Gallery and the University and to the people.

<sup>877</sup> Beilharz, 'Australian civilisation', p.69. These exhibitions were not innovative as Bernard Smith had already implemented a scheme in New South Wales during the war years of 1944–6.

Centre; interest was greatly generated in country towns.<sup>878</sup> Other collaborative educational ventures in which Burke was involved included the exhibition of work by boys of Geelong Church of England Grammar School, under the innovative instruction of the German émigré Dr Hirschfeld-Mack, which was held at both the Peter Bray Gallery and at the Education Department Art Centre in the Old Gaol from 9 August to 17 September 1954.<sup>879</sup>

Initially at the University of Melbourne the triumvirate of Burke, Philipp and Hoff had been buoyed by their mission to create a new Faculty of Fine Arts and establish Art History as an academic discipline in Australia. Through Burke's collaboration with the Victorian State Education Department, the syllabus of matriculation art had been 'revised and brought into line with developments overseas', and refresher courses for teachers had been implemented.<sup>880</sup> However, even with the first of these two innovations it was Franz Philipp, Ursula Hoff, Colin Badger and Gordon Thomson who carried the load. Hoff and Philipp wrote comprehensive studies on the history and major periods of European art for the matriculation art series that began in 1953. Philipp's 'Romanesque Art' and Hoff's 'Renaissance Painting' were inspirational for matriculation students, with slides and filmclips as visual aides to their texts. True to type, Hoff's text was didactically straight forward, utilised some works from the Gallery's collection such as the Florentine School *Profile Portrait of a Lady*, and relied on recently published literature such as E. H. Gombrich's *The Story of Art* and the revised 1953 edition of Nikolaus Pevsner's *An Outline of European Architecture* and Kenneth Clark's *Landscape into Art*. In contrast to Hoff's clear and didactic lectures, Franz Philipp's 'Romanesque Art' was a historically concentrated, complexly woven, beautifully written lecture that emphasised his passion for the iconographical, architectural, cultural, religious and artistic progress of early western and central European foundations of art. These lectures were a considerable improvement in the quality of intellectual material available for higher secondary education in art.

<sup>878</sup> See *The quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, vii (no.4, 1953).

<sup>879</sup> The CAE assisted in extending this exhibition at the Old Melbourne Gaol. Exhibition brochure and Invitation, JBAA, EML, See Daniel Thomas, 'Hirschfeld-Mack', p.519.

<sup>880</sup> Burke to Vice-Chancellor, Memorandum, 'The future expansion of the Fine Arts Department', 23 June 1953, UMA/BP.

Gordon Thomson and Franz Philipp had taken the initiative and responsibility for the refresher course, and the Vice-Chancellor, G. W. Paton, wrote to Daryl Lindsay regarding this successful collaboration between education and the arts.

I am writing on behalf of the University to express our thanks for the magnificent job done by Mr. Gordon Thomson in organising with Mr. Franz Philipp the recent Refresher Course for Art Teachers. This has been an outstanding success. There was an enrolment of over 200 teachers and an even larger number attended the main conference. There has never been a warmer approach from the education Department to a co-operative venture and among the many good results I should like to mention the formation of an Art Teachers' Association in Victoria.<sup>881</sup>

Joseph Burke — absent on twelve months sabbatical in 1953<sup>882</sup> — was nevertheless proud that his department offered art teachers the opportunity to study in a course on fine arts, but he was equally aware that his commitment to 'raising the artistic standards in the community at large'<sup>883</sup> had placed 'considerable personal strain on the very small staff'<sup>884</sup> — and this was the Achilles heel of the department, particularly during the late 1950s and 1960s. The need for expansion was evident as early as 1953, but in order to cope with increased teaching demands Burke had to argue for another full time staff member. The only suitable scholar to be found in Australia was Bernard Smith, who could bridge the histories of European art and introduce Australian art history as an academic course. But Smith did not arrive until 1956, the year that Franz Philipp went on sabbatical, and Europe's reticent peace was threatened with the Suez Crisis and the invasion of Hungary by Russia. It was also the year that Melbourne hosted the Olympic games, and another atomic test was conducted at Maralinga,<sup>885</sup> reminding Australia of the immediacy of the cold war.

Medley's rally call for an intellectual and cultural union was taken up by Daryl Lindsay and Ursula Hoff when *The quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of*

<sup>881</sup> G.W.Paton to Daryl Lindsay, 21 September 1953, UMA.

<sup>882</sup> Burke was overseas for at least six months of that year.

<sup>883</sup> Burke to the Vice-Chancellor, memorandum, 1 April 1947, UMA/312.

<sup>884</sup> Burke to the Vice-Chancellor, memorandum, 23 June 1953, UMA/BP.

<sup>885</sup> Contrary to what Heathcote wrote that the first atomic test at Maralinga was in 1956 in 'Going "all out" modern', in *1956 Melbourne*, National Gallery of Victoria exhibition catalogue, 2000, the first atomic British testing occurred at Emu Field near Woomera on October 1953. See Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Better red than dead: Australia's first cold war, 1945-1959*, ii, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.155.



*Victoria* was launched in 1945. This initiative under Hoff's editorship was an important step in acknowledging and utilising her scholarship and encouraging that of other connoisseurs, but it provided for the first time a scholarly format based on other museum examples of British, continental and American scholarly publications. It was also another way of informing international collections of the Gallery's masterpieces and the museum's collections. Initially she drew upon the staff to write brief articles. These were by Daryl Lindsay, John McDonnell, Robert Haines, Arnold Shore and herself, with occasional contributions from Sir Keith Murdoch and Joseph Burke. From 1950, Gordon Thomson, Laurie Thomas, A. D. Trendall, Gil Docking, David Lawrence, David Saunders and Eric Westbrook added new perspectives, and Hoff enlisted other Australian connoisseurs, collectors and artists such as Sir Lionel Lindsay, Rex Ebbott, Leonard Cox, Clive Fitts, Orlando Dutton, Ola Cohn, Franz Philipp and Joan Lindsay.<sup>886</sup>

The inter-institutionalism was taken further when Joseph Burke approached Ursula Hoff in 1947 to lecture on a part-time basis in his new department at the University of Melbourne. Burke recognised her importance as one of only a few qualified art historians in Australia,<sup>887</sup> and she was therefore seminal to his grand academic plan. This binary position of lecturer and museum curator enabled Hoff to offer young Australian students knowledge of 'the purpose of the past' in the iconographical systems used to interpret works of art beyond their formalistic value. Many students recognised the value of her erudite and primary knowledge, even though she found the process of lecturing and teaching difficult. Hoff's delivery style was didactic and reserved, but in one former student's view her 'clarity of thought and expression was a classic example of how art history should be taught'.<sup>888</sup> When she began to conduct some of her seminars at the Print Room in the Gallery for students

<sup>886</sup> See *The quarterly bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* from 1945 to 1958; *The annual bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* from 1959 to 1967; and thereafter the *Art bulletin of Victoria*.

<sup>887</sup> Professor Dale Trendall, Dr George Berger and Heidi Speigal in Sydney were others. Gertrude Langer had a doctorate of Art History from the University of Vienna. See Betty Churcher, 'Gertrude Langer', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no. 4, 1993), 514–15. Hoff's English qualifications and experience made her an uncontested choice.

<sup>888</sup> Hoff, interview, 25 March 1999; David Thomas, telephone interview, 30 August 2004.

from the University of Melbourne, she found herself on firmer ground.<sup>889</sup> Foremost a museum woman, she placed the care and the understanding of the work of art as cardinal in her schema. Believing in the primacy of contact with original art works, as she herself had experienced in Hamburg with Fritz Saxl, Hoff found that under such conditions iconographic investigations with authentic works of art brought the academic into a new and exciting realm, where the concept and the art came together as an encoded visual document.<sup>890</sup> Furthermore, it was also a method of introducing the students to the 'presence of an original', which 'is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity'.<sup>891</sup> This additional part-time job meant that she had even less time for research, but the supplementation of her meagre public service wage was welcome.

### New Blood and Old

As the 1950s witnessed the consummation of modernism, it also brought recognition of the need to farewell more outmoded facets of the past. This inferred that casualties would occur. For individuals such as Sir John Medley, Joseph Burke, Daryl Lindsay, Franz Philipp and Ursula Hoff, and for others who straddled the old and the new worlds, this period became one of adjustment to inflowing challenges. An example of how modern pressures operated was Ursula Hoff's refusal to write criticism or vocally cast judgements on contemporary art issues,<sup>892</sup> even though she was a visible presence in the art world of the fifties. As a scholar of the history of art, the past was a preferable place and she tended to avoid contentious issues and left modern exhibition critiques to be thrashed out between art critics such as Alan McCulloch, Arnold Shore,

<sup>889</sup> Hoff was still giving lunchtime lectures in the early 1950s, along with Dr David Falk and John Brack. By 1953 these were augmented by documentary films, and by 1956 art films had superseded the public lectures.

<sup>890</sup> Irena Zdanovicz, interview, 1 June 1999.

<sup>891</sup> Momme Brodersen, *Walter Benjamin: a biography*, London, New York, Verso, 1996, p.222.

<sup>892</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Haese, 3 March 1975, SLV/OHC. Hoff states her dislike for writing criticism, but qualified this by saying that there were few opportunities for women to do so.

Bernard Smith, Elwyn Lynn, Alan Warren and Laurie Thomas. Instead, Hoff wrote regular letters to the art critics of the *Argus*, *Herald*, *Sun*, *Age* and *Bulletin* papers asking them to review exhibitions at the Gallery, especially those in the Print Gallery.<sup>893</sup> What was perceived as 'timidity' or silence in the public domain was as much a part of her reserved German manner — 'she would not have offered an opinion unless it was asked'.<sup>894</sup> Charles Mitchell, Hoff's friend from the Warburg Institute in London, referred to the 'pompous mandarins' who inhabit all communities and the need for the preservation of ourselves in the outside world by a protective silence; this certainly applied to Hoff who was a professional woman working in a man's world.<sup>895</sup> Clive Fitts once claimed that 'Ursula was so good at remaining silent in five languages'<sup>896</sup> that many had come to regard her scholarly presence as consultative rather than actively and publicly engaging, but her confidence rested in her scholarship and connoisseurship, rather than public discourse. During the 1950s, John and Helen Brack considered that 'Ursula Hoff was one of the most silently influential people in the Melbourne art scene at the time'.<sup>897</sup> This was because Hoff was genuinely concerned to support artists who were serious about their profession, and she regularly attended exhibitions at commercial galleries around the city, surveying and methodically building up her knowledge of their careers: 'you had to know what went on in all areas. You had to know an artist's oeuvre'.<sup>898</sup> Again, Helen Brack recalled, 'She was a subterranean influence [and] her word was important in the 1950s. A lot of the things the Gallery bought were through her influence'.<sup>899</sup>

Ursula Hoff was also keen to emphasise for a number of reasons the role of the National Gallery of Victoria as supportive of the contemporary art scene. As much as

<sup>893</sup> NGV/HC.

<sup>894</sup> Margaret Stones, interview, 13 July 1999.

<sup>895</sup> Charles Mitchell, 'Very like a whale: the spectator's role in modern art' in Bernard Smith (ed.), *Concerning contemporary art: the Power Lectures, 1968–1973*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1975, p.36.

<sup>896</sup> I am grateful to John Poynter for this information.

<sup>897</sup> Simon Plant (ed.), *1956 Melbourne: modernity and the XVI Olympiad*, Museum of Modern Art, Heide, exhibition catalogue, Melbourne, 1996, p.44.

<sup>898</sup> Hoff, interviewed by James Mellon, 1989, SLV.

<sup>899</sup> Helen Maudsley, interview, 2 March 2000. Later in the 1960s Hoff purchased a collage from an exhibition of Ron Upton's work at the Sweeny Reed Gallery in Carlton. This exhibition had attracted condemnation and censorship and the police were called to close the exhibition. Hoff, as acting Director at the time, publicly supported the artist and joined ranks with Burke, Bishop Felix Arnott and a Melbourne psychiatrist. During Upton's court case Hoff opposed artistic censorship and re-enforced her belief in the artist's ability and his work. Interview, Ron Upton, 26 July 2000.

she admired and was infinitely grateful to Daryl Lindsay as her friend, mentor and the director of the Gallery, she was critical of his negativity towards expressionism and modernism. Lindsay found the art of Vassilieff, Bergner, Boyd, Percival and the Heide artists in particular crude in comparison to the accomplished Slade artists — the latter belonged to the period that Lindsay nostalgically cradled as his favourite — and largely refused to acquire expressionist works or modernist sculpture, be they Australian or international. It was Ursula Hoff who attempted to modify his preferences and correct 'an over-concentration with English things'.<sup>900</sup> As Hoff said 'You buy for your department, or you go to your Director and say 'That must be bought and try and put this across, or to your Trustees'.<sup>901</sup> Amongst the more major acquisitions with which Hoff was connected either directly or in a consultative capacity was the Sir Thomas Barlow collection of Dürer engravings. In 1956 Hoff purchased several Barbara Hepworth drawings, a Picasso aquatint and a lithograph, four Chagall prints, a Janet Dawson drawing, Barbara Brash and Helen Ogilvie linocuts, a Counihan drawing, several Piranesi etchings and David Teniers engravings. She was conscious of working with the present while not neglecting the importance of the past, and that present implied American modernism. In 1958 Hoff acquired a number of modern prints from America through John Reed's Museum of Modern Art in Tavistock Place.<sup>902</sup> After seeing a review in *The Studio* (1958) of the Fifth International Biennial of Contemporary Colour Lithography, she wrote to John McDonnell in London and asked him to acquire French and Italian modern prints, with a Dubuffet gouache and a Soulages etching being in her view important acquisitions. In 1959–60 Hoff acquired an enormous number of European and Australian works on paper including a Braque, Dali, Marino Marini, Miro, Severini, Picasso's lithograph of 'Jacqueline', several Manessiers, Max Ernst, Pollaiuolo's 'Battle of the Nude Men', Tiepolo's drawing 'Centaur Carrying off a Fauness' and fifty drawings by Eugene von Guerard. Her taste was catholic, but she was always concerned with the best of the mainstream, and within that she would search and collect only the first-rate.<sup>903</sup>

<sup>900</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Haese, 3 March 1975, SLV Oral Collection

<sup>901</sup> Hoff, interviewed by McGrath, NLA/OHC p.6.

<sup>902</sup> NGV/HC, July 1958.

<sup>903</sup> James Mollison, interview, 9 September 1999.

But old masterpieces were becoming increasingly scarce and expensive, and by the 1950s new areas of acquisition were introduced. The move towards modernising the collections was inevitable. Robert Haines, who had been appointed assistant director in 1948, began acquiring modern Australian decorative arts and furniture by artist-craftsmen such as the Australians Alan Lowe, Klytie Pate and Carl Cooper, and by émigrés such as Stacha Halpern, Shulim Krimper and Fred Lowen (formerly Fritz Loewenstein, a *Dunera* internee). This new modern trajectory was continued when Gordon Thomson was promoted to Haines's position in 1951 and twentieth-century glass, pottery, porcelain, silverware and furniture from France, Denmark, Spain, Italy and England was acquired.<sup>904</sup> Another important area of collection development was classical Greek ceramics, selected under the expert guidance of Professor Dale Trendall, the Gallery's honorary curator of Greek and Roman Antiquities.<sup>905</sup>

From 1957 Hoff established professional relationships with some of the young people employed at the Gallery, such as John Stringer and Brian Finemore, and later Harley Griffiths and Frances McCarthy. She would ask them to accompany her on regular rounds of the commercial art venues.<sup>906</sup> 'Going to exhibitions and trying to work out what one might recommend, what one might buy is part of any museum person's life'.<sup>907</sup> This was part of the process of educating the younger staff members as much as learning from them. While she may not have understood or liked some of the artists' work on exhibition, she was always curious, patient and open-minded. Almost two decades after Ursula Hoff commenced at the National Gallery of Victoria, she began training young graduates from the University's Fine Arts Department, establishing a scholarly foundation for curatorial positions within museums in Australia. Part of this training was on critical evaluation of works of art, and Hoff was

<sup>904</sup> This was a result and influence of Gordon Thomson, who was appointed Assistant Director and curator of the Art Museum in 1952.

<sup>905</sup> Cox, p.278.

<sup>906</sup> When Hoff was the Felton Adviser in London 1975–84 she was occasionally accompanied to galleries by students or Australian friends such as Stephen Coppel and Margaret Stones. John Stringer interview, 4 October 2000.

<sup>907</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Amy McGrath, 9 July 1981, NLA, Oral History Collection, p.20.

adamant that 'a thorough knowledge of the history of art' and a university degree in art history were essential to working within a major gallery.<sup>908</sup>

Curators are expected ... to keep abreast of new theories and new research as it affects their collections... and to publish in learned journals...or produce a book. Special knowledge is required in how to organise temporary exhibitions, in how to deal with public enquiries, what type of records to keep for various materials... what procedure to adopt in cataloguing. Officers should be familiar with the general principles of conservation, of the effects of humidity and light; they should be 'au fait' with the principles of how to establish a library for the curator's use.<sup>909</sup>

For Hoff, scholarship and curatorship went hand in hand. The importance of the art museum professional was dependent on criteria of excellence that she had experienced in England and Europe as well as in the contemporary field of scholarship and museum training.

Probably because of her friendship with Clem Christesen, Hoff agreed to contribute a number of articles on modern art to *Meanjin*, the first in 1952 on the art of Jean Bellette<sup>910</sup> and in 1953 about 'Content and form in modern art'.<sup>911</sup> In the latter article she concentrated on the perception of vision and subject matter rather than the theoretical:

Traditional form was persuasive. Twentieth century art form is aggressive. It forces the spectator to understand a picture as 'a thing made', a pattern constructed of forms and colour. 'To see things in a new way, that is really difficult, everything prevents us, habits, schools, daily life, reason, indolence...'<sup>912</sup>

Of the Australian artists, Hoff offered this assessment:

The effect of the pictures by Drysdale, Nolan and Boyd depends to a considerable extent on their subject matter... the poetry of form and colour promotes rather than out-distances the effect of the subject... John Brack's

<sup>908</sup> Hoff, 'Qualifications for officers in Australian art galleries 1965', Art Galleries Association of Australia, p.6, UMA/HP.

<sup>909</sup> Ibid, pp.6-7.

<sup>910</sup> Hoff, 'The art of Jean Bellette', *Meanjin*, xi, (no.4, 1952) 358-360. Bellette's art would have appealed to Hoff for a number of reasons. Bellette returned to Australia in 1939 with her husband, Paul Heafliker, who had been born in Hoff's native city of Hamburg. Also, Bellette's art was neo-classical in the manner of Poussin and Bellette had 'contributed articles on Italian old masters to *Art in Australia*'. See McCulloch, pp.99-100 and 538-9.

<sup>911</sup> Hoff, 'Content and form', 449-50.

<sup>912</sup> Ibid, 449.

work, which was recently exhibited in Melbourne, shows the twentieth-century desire to create a poetry of form and line... But he also speaks to us through his subject matter and he adds a new theme to the iconography of Australian art. His theme is the life of the city; not glamorous 'West End' nor the slum, but the life of the average high street... Brack's 'Tailorshop' has no before or after. Form reveals the whole story... [it] is not concerned with narrative action but with a state of consciousness.<sup>913</sup>

Hoff's criticism of Australian modern art always appeared to be in comparison to its European precursor or counterpart, and this is understandable. In European modernism she felt that 'subject matter ha[d] suffered an eclipse'.<sup>914</sup> Australian artists, and particularly Melbourne ones — she did not know the Sydney scene, as travel, time and cost were prohibitive for her<sup>915</sup> — she felt were not yet ready to dispense with subject matter. Indeed, so important was it as a pictorial device that artists depended on it in order to define, either consciously or subconsciously, their national and spiritual characteristics. This national quality was what impressed the English art critic John Berger when he reviewed an exhibition arranged by the Arts Council of Great Britain entitled *Twelve Australian artists* at the New Burlington Galleries in June 1953. Berger felt that there was a collective 'spirit that is typically Australian' and displayed 'a national tradition which *holds its own* — both literally and metaphorically'.<sup>916</sup>

The Melbourne scene was changing, and anyone seriously associated with the art world, as Hoff, Philipp and Burke were, would have noted its temper. Helen Ogilvie, the manager of the Peter Bray Gallery, found her position as the 'top' exhibiting place for emerging artists challenged by the Contemporary Art Society's massive exhibition at Tye's Gallery at 100 Burke Street in 1954.<sup>917</sup> With John Reed as its president, Danila Vassilieff and Barrie Reid as the artists' and lay vice-presidents,

<sup>913</sup> Ibid, 449–50.

<sup>914</sup> Ibid, 449.

<sup>915</sup> Hoff, interviewed by Haese, SLV.

<sup>916</sup> John Berger, 'London exhibition of Australian art', *Meanjin*, xii (no.3, Spring 1953), 278. The twelve artists were William Dobell, Russell Drysdale, Sidney Nolan, Lloyd Rees, Donald Friend, Justin O'Brien, Jean Bellette, Constance Stokes, Arthur Boyd, Geoffrey Miller, Frank Hinder and Ralph Balson.

<sup>917</sup> There were 182 works of art, including a small Sydney contingent of twenty artists such as Jean Bellette, John Coburn, Dahl and Geoffrey Collings, Robert Dickerson, Maximilian Feuerring, Weaver Hawkins, Paul Haefliger, Frank Hinder and Margot Lewers, Karl Plate, Imre Szigeti and Robert Klippel. Of the Melbourne group, Ian Bow, Arthur Boyd and his mother Doris and father Merrick Boyd, Kenneth Hood, Laurence Hope, Mirka Mora, Roy Opie, Clifton Pugh, Robert Rooney, Dawn and Ian Sime, John Yule, Danila Vassilieff and his wife Elizabeth, Julius Kuhn, Guenter Stein, Teisutis Zikaris, Clifford Last, Joy Hester, Jean Langley, Erica McGilchrist and Charles Blackman were some of the artists.

and Barbara Blackman, Erica McGilchrist, Clifford Last, George Mora, Arthur Boyd, Ian Sime and Charles Blackman as other council members, it was a passionate response from 'a new generation of artists'.<sup>918</sup> This was the society's first exhibition in seven years, and the moment was an emotionally charged one, as the catalogue forward attests:

From 1939 to 1947 the annual exhibitions of our society played an important part in the development of the cultural life of Australia. Not only did they act as shock treatment in the mentally ill atmosphere which, in 1939, existed throughout the local art world, but, in a more positive sense, they presented the only means through which a whole series of revolutionary young artists were able to show their work to the public. These artists, *and these artists alone*, have completely changed the whole face of art in Australia.

After 1947 it was found that the flow of creative activity, so marked in the war years, had fallen away to such an extent that there was little scope for such a society as this, and accordingly it ceased to function in a positive way, though still retaining its identity in order to be ready at any time when it should be again needed. This time has now very definitely arrived, and the insistent demand of a new generation of artists and of those living along side them, has made the revival of the society an urgent necessity.<sup>919</sup>

Barbara Blackman wrote of this exciting period, 'There we were in Melbourne in the fifties, the new wave of painters. Class of 1928, with those active figures of the forties art revolution who had not been swept away by the end of the decade diaspora to Europe'.<sup>920</sup> Bohemianism became *de rigueur* and many artists began to associate with the French émigré couple George and Mirka Mora. Together with John Reed, the Moras championed art on the edge, offered artists 'new sites' to exhibit, and created a joyous sense of life, no matter how poverty stricken they or anyone else were.

The Europeans were still central to some of the most vital activity going on in art and John Reed was aware of how much Australia had been enriched by artists who had arrived from other worlds and transmitted their cultural capital.<sup>921</sup> But many of them like Danila Vassilieff, Yosl Bergner, Karl Duldig, Tina Wentcher and Inge King remained largely unappreciated outside small circles of friends, artists and patrons.

<sup>918</sup> Contemporary Art Society Catalogue, April 1954, JBAA, University of Melbourne.

<sup>919</sup> Ibid.

<sup>920</sup> Barbara Blackman, 'The good ship Mora; Melbourne in the fifties', *Meanjin*, lv (no.2, 1996), 293.

<sup>921</sup> See John Reed, 'Danila Vassilieff: Cossack and artist', *Art and Australia*, iv (no.2, 1966), 113 and John Reed, 'Danila Vassilieff', *Broadsheet*, CAS, 1959, 3-5.



'All modern art is unpopular ... every newcomer among styles passes through a stage of quarantine.'<sup>922</sup> Certainly, Basil Burdett had recognised this about Vassilieff as early as 1938:

The neglect of this artist is an incomprehensible thing to me. His is easily one of the most brilliant new talents we have seen here in recent years. As a naturalised Australian he is one of the few who is giving expression to an aspect of Australian life rather than imitating a physical aspect of the country itself. I suggest that Melbourne may have cause to be ashamed of its neglect of Vassilieff in the fullness of time as Paris for its former scorn of Gauguin or Van Gogh.<sup>923</sup>

Whether it was neglect or that Vassilieff was too radical, his life too erratic and his ideologies too progressive for most of the art public in Melbourne is something that cannot be explored here. However, another émigré whose work and ideas were as interesting as Vassilieff's was Inge King's — though she found the conservative cultural climate difficult and full recognition of her art was slow in arriving.<sup>924</sup> Born and trained in Berlin, King had fled Germany for England in 1939. She enrolled at the Glasgow School of Art after being evacuated from London when the bombing intensified. Initially, her sculpture was expressive of her German and European background, but she readily absorbed the organic abstraction and the clean lines of British modernism, creating a sculptural style that was a combination of some of the most potent European influences in twentieth century art.<sup>925</sup> The humanist artist Kate Kollwitz had been a mentor to King, and she had also been 'moved by the ontological force and stylised simplicity of Ernst Barlach's' sculptures.<sup>926</sup> The totemic qualities of Brancusi's art and the open and closed compositional elements of Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore, Jean Arp and Ossip Zadkine all worked upon King's development during the 1940s. At the Abbey Art Centre, an artists' colony just out of London, King met a number of Australian artists including Robert Klippel, Olliff Richmond, James

<sup>922</sup> Ortega y Gasset, *The dehumanisation of art* (1948), New York, Doubleday Anchor, n.d., p.4.

<sup>923</sup> Basil Burdett, *Herald*, 21 February 1938, cited in Felicity St. John Moore, *Vassilieff and his art*, Melbourne, OUP, 1982, p.47.

<sup>924</sup> Inge King, telephone interview, 24 June 2004.

<sup>925</sup> Trimble, *Inge King*, pp.1–17.

<sup>926</sup> *Ibid*, pp.3–8.

Gleeson, Bernard Smith and Grahame King, and within a few years she decided to emigrate with Grahame King to Melbourne.<sup>927</sup>

The Kings' studio was above the Stanley Coe Gallery at 435 Bourke Street, and Inge King first exhibited her sculpture in November 1951. These sculptures were semi-figurative or non-representational organic forms, carved in Scottish red sandstone, marble or wood and reflected the importance of form to the essence of material.<sup>928</sup> It is interesting to compare this work that King had produced in England during the late 1940s with what Danila Vassilieff had been producing at Warrandyte. Both artists approached sculpture through similar materials and with a similar formal approach. The Spanish philosopher, Ortega y Gasset, had written around the same time that 'It is amazing how compact a unity every historical epoch presents throughout its various manifestations. One and the same inspiration, one and the same biological style, are recognisable in several branches of the arts.'<sup>929</sup> For both Vassilieff and King at this time, one living in relative obscurity at Warrandyte just outside Melbourne, the other on the opposite side of the world amongst a thriving group of artists, were producing three dimensional forms based on a similar spirit of expression that was born within Europe, developed through encounters with new cultures and reformed through the fate of displacement.

King and Vassilieff, like Bergner and other refugee artists, shared a history unique to those who had engaged with the diasporic winds of pre- and post-war Europe. As a worldly and knowledgeable man, Vassilieff had browsed in Gino Nibbi's art shop and in Sunday and John Reed's library at Heide, learning of contemporary modern styles in sculpture and art.<sup>930</sup> In 1948, he had been transfixed by the 'truth to material' in the British Council exhibition of Henry Moore sculptures and drawings at the National Gallery of Victoria. Moore's vitalistic approach to space, form and mass had provoked the 'primitive' in Vassilieff, and confirmed his passionate and 'full-

<sup>927</sup> Ibid, p.10.

<sup>928</sup> Ibid.

<sup>929</sup> Ortega y Gasset, *Dehumanisation of art*, p.4.

<sup>930</sup> The Reeds had Geoffrey Grigson's *Henry Moore*, Penguin, 1943 and Daniel Henry Kahnweiler and Brassai, *The sculpture of Picasso*, London, Philipps, 1949,

blooded' response to the universal as well as to his local world.<sup>931</sup> Vassilieff's visceral expressionism, informed as John Reed felt by

... a history and background foreign to our own, but for this very reason and because of the intensity of [his] vision and his brilliant and daring use of colour these provided an invaluable stimulus to our isolated though rapidly developing culture.<sup>932</sup>

Danila Vassilieff's influence upon children and the young avant-garde artists was extremely important. He had physically helped establish the Neild's Koormong Experimental School at Warrandyte, where he taught painting, and occasionally Russian folk songs and Cossack dance.<sup>933</sup> Just as Vassilieff's 'eye sought out the bones of the country' so did intellectuals and cultural cognoscenti such as Basil Burdett, George Bell, Adrian Lawlor, Vance and Nettie Palmer, Dolia Ribush, Norman McGeorge, Lina Bryans, Connie Smith, Yosl Bergner, Albert Tucker and Joy Hester, Sidney Nolan, Arthur Boyd, John Perceval and Peter Herbst realise the intensity and excitement that this European artist gave the movement of modernism in Melbourne.<sup>934</sup>

Many émigrés during the 1950s experienced an intellectual or cultural 'quarantine' and a continual sense of negotiation prevailed in their daily lives. A case in point was when the Hungarian Margit Pogany offered a cast bronze bust of herself by Constantine Brancusi, *Mlle. Pogany* (1913), to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1952. Margit Pogany had moved in some of the most progressive cultural circles in Paris in the early decades of the twentieth century and as a close friend of Brancusi, had commissioned this portrait bust of herself.<sup>935</sup> After the Second World War, she emigrated to Australia where she had relatives in Melbourne. In need of money, she decided to sell her treasured Brancusi masterpiece, and felt that by offering it to the

<sup>931</sup> St. John Moore, p.85.

<sup>932</sup> Reed, 'Danila Vassilieff: Cossack and artist', 116.

<sup>933</sup> St. John Moore, pp.49–50. Clive and Janet Neild opened a co-educational boarding school in the outer Melbourne suburb of Warrandyte in September 1939, at the outbreak of the Second World War. The Neilds had travelled extensively throughout Europe, including England and Russia, and America studying various progressive educational schools. There was a strong European presence at Koormong, with Mania and Milo Vlach who taught German, Emil Aldor taught French, Alf Lorbach and Vera Bettinger taught physical education, and students were taught pottery, in the nearby studio of Katie Januba, the wife of the Viennese architect Fritz Januba. Conversation with Dr David Potts, 5 August 2004; Cleo Macmillan, telephone interview, 1 September 2004.

<sup>934</sup> St. John Moore, pp.35, 38–42.

<sup>935</sup> Eric Shanes, *Constantin Brancusi*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1989, pp.61–3.

National Gallery for the modest sum of £1,200 she would at least 'remain close enough to see it now and again in her last days'.<sup>936</sup> Daryl Lindsay prevaricated over the offer of this sculpture and finally rejected it as 'a copy' on the advice of his friend Victor Greenhalgh — the sculptor and Melbourne Technical College teacher — who had based his judgement on the bronze having been cast from the original marble. Disappointed by the Gallery's decline of her Brancusi, Mademoiselle Pogany subsequently sold the bust to the Museum of Modern Art in New York.<sup>937</sup> It is probable that Lindsay did not consult Hoff about this sculpture, but it was well known that Daryl Lindsay not only had difficulty with modern works of art, but also found three dimensional works a genre unsuited to his aesthetics. Furthermore the Gallery had purchased several other major modern European paintings for that year, such as Matisse's *Reclining Nude*, Balthus's *Nu a la Bassine* and an Edourd Vuillard *Interior*.<sup>938</sup>

Various efforts were made in other quarters to correct the Gallery's evasion of modernism. Brian Lewis, head of the University of Melbourne's School of Architecture, promoted the new internationalist sculpture with two exhibitions in 1953 and 1955 by 'The Group of Four'. This exhibition consisted of works by Inge King, Julius Kane, Norma Redpath and Clifford Last — Redpath being the only Australian-born. It was an affirmative voice for the disciplines of architecture and art, and though the audience was limited, and indeed commissions for public sculpture remained neglected for many years to come, it marked a new compliance between art, education, sculpture and architecture.

This affirmation of modern art also came from a growing interest and patronage amongst a new generation of business men and women.<sup>939</sup> An expanding middle class embraced contemporary art and design as a domestic cultural extension. Artists,

<sup>936</sup> Gordon Thomson knew Mlle Pogany, but was unable to influence Daryl Lindsay's decision regarding the Brancusi sculpture because of his absence at that time.

<sup>937</sup> Gordon Thomson, interview, 24 June 2004. Pogany commissioned this in 1910, but Brancusi did not execute this bust until 1912. For the sculpture see Alfred H. Barr, *Painting and sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art, 1929-1967*, New York, MOMA, 1977. The Brancusi was acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest in 1953.

<sup>938</sup> NGV/SRL Stockbook.

<sup>939</sup> Elizabeth Summons, Ruth McNicoll, the surgeon Allen Wynn and his ballerina wife Sally Gilmore, the wine maker David Wynn, Hepzibah Menuhin and the Jewish American musician Larry Adler were amongst some of the more active supporters and patrons of Australian modernism.

architects and designers created a new stylistic alliance that acknowledged the Australian environment, its colour and light. Helen Ogilvie returned to her own painting and depicted the diversity of Australian vernacular architecture. Clifton Pugh painted the drama of the earth and its inhabitants. Fred Williams, after six years in London and a thorough immersion in European art, began to paint the Australian landscape with a Cézannesque structural approach.<sup>940</sup> Russell Drysdale portrayed the outback with an unsentimental monumentality and Arthur Boyd returned to painting the landscape, moving from the heavily painted and textured bush scenes to his 'Bride series'.

Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp's association with Arthur Boyd had developed during the 1950s and was based on a mutual empathy for the formal and 'poetic representations' of European secular, religious and artistic history. In 1958 Hoff wrote a supportive article on Boyd for *Meanjin*. She pointed out in this article that Dostoevsky's novel *The Brothers Karamazov* had been an enormous influence on Boyd's art from the late 1930s. This would have added a certain exotic edge to Hoff's and Boyd's friendship as this was also one of Hoff's favourite novels; it is also the novel that mentions her family's merchandise, 'Hoffmaltz'. But Boyd's iconography also appealed to the trained minds of the art historians, where his paintings such as *The Hunter* and *The Forest* recalled 'the terror of loneliness and of primitive passions [which] were reflected in the motifs as well as in the manner of painting'.<sup>941</sup> These are sufficiently Freudian works, where the iconology associated with the 'dark forests' of Dürer and medieval German mythology offered the European scholars ample material with which to engage intellectually.<sup>942</sup>

Albert Tucker was also aware of how Boyd was 'wisely obeying history and pushing back towards the real sources of aesthetic experience — the world of living men'.<sup>943</sup> Boyd's paintings in the latter 1950s of half-castes and full-blood Aborigines heave with what Franz Philipp called 'the tragic forlornness and degradation of the

<sup>940</sup> Irena Zdanowicz, 'Painting from the inside out: Fred Williams and the European tradition', The Joseph Burke Annual Lecture, 9 June 2004.

<sup>941</sup> Hoff, 'Paintings of Arthur Boyd', *Meanjin*, xvii, (1958, no.2) p.143.

<sup>942</sup> Ibid, pp.143–7. Hoff claims she met Boyd through Philipp, interview, 2 March 1999. She accompanied Philipp to Murrumbidgee on many occasions.

<sup>943</sup> Albert Tucker, cited in ibid, p.144.

detribalised aborigines and half-castes'.<sup>944</sup> This struck an important nerve at a time when Australia's indigenous inhabitants were attracting humanitarian attention.<sup>945</sup> For Hoff and Philipp, Boyd's art assumed a greater 'universal significance' and referred not just to a 'new national vision of Australia', but cast a more far reaching contemporary reference to that which Philipp himself had recently endured, 'the primitive passions inspiring the horrors of the war-time concentration camps with a detachment which is a mark of his [Boyd's] sensitivity'.<sup>946</sup> For both these Europeans, their friendship with Boyd and the artists at Murrumbena was a rare and beautiful release from their heavy workloads that demarcated their professional lives at the Gallery and the University. Conversely for Boyd, who 'had long wished to see Europe',<sup>947</sup> Hoff and Philipp, together with Peter Herbst, seemed like some intoxicating European 'breath of fresh air from across the oceans'.<sup>948</sup>

In 1956 the South Land Act proclaimed Wirth's Park site on the Yarra River as the location for a new cultural centre and art gallery, at much the same time as Eric Westbrook commenced as the director of the National Gallery of Victoria. Other significant developments that affected Melbourne's cultural world in 1956 were the opening of John Reed's Gallery of Contemporary Art in Tavistock Place and the arrival of television on the Australian market.<sup>949</sup> 1956 was indeed the beginning of many things, and Joseph Burke had an exceptionally full year with his academic and civic duties, various Olympiad committees and the organising committee for the Olympic Arts Festival. Plans for Melbourne's cultural progress was a critical feature within the art and political world. In this sense the alliance or coalition of culture, education and politics became a defining amalgam of the 1950s. The cultural environment was on the verge of unprecedented activity and into this arena arrived two men whose careers would dominate Melbourne for decades to come.

<sup>944</sup> Philipp, *Boyd*, p.84.

<sup>945</sup> Bergner had made an impact on Boyd, and this most surely contributed to Boyd's and many artists' iconography of the civil inequalities affecting Aborigines.

<sup>946</sup> Hoff, 'Paintings of Arthur Boyd', p.144.

<sup>947</sup> Hoff, *The art of Arthur Boyd*, p.52.

<sup>948</sup> Peter Herbst, 'Reflections on the Murrumbena experience' in Dobrez.

<sup>949</sup> The Gallery of Contemporary Art became the Museum of Modern Art Australia (MOMAA) in 1958.

### Bernard Smith, Eric Westbrook: Culture, Capitalism and Consumerism

In 1953 Joseph Burke offered the Sydney intellectual Bernard Smith a position on his staff in the Fine Arts Department at the University of Melbourne. (plate 49) This was, according to Smith, an invitation urged by Franz Philipp who had read Smith's article 'European Vision and the South Pacific', published in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* in 1950.<sup>950</sup> But it may also have come about after Smith had written to Burke outlining his position in Sydney:

Despite my work abroad I have absolutely no formal recognition at all from the Education Department of N.S.W ... I have served the Gallery ... for nearly ten years without any kind of real promotion at all. Unless I am prepared to allow the present unsatisfactory position to continue indefinitely I must seek an appointment in a Teachers College next year as an art lecturer. This may possibly mean some years in a country college – which from a research point of view are years largely wasted. The main trouble is that the consideration of art in a humane, scholarly and objective sort of way is non-existent in Sydney – with the notable exception of course of Trendall's work.

You will appreciate, therefore, that I frequently find things here in Sydney extremely frustrating. There is so much that could be done to improve the situation, but I am not in a position to make my opinions carry weight.<sup>951</sup>

Given the heightened anti-Communist atmosphere of the Cold War and Smith's past attachment to that party, his keenness to leave Sydney is understandable. But there was another agenda involved, apart from a certain political humanitarianism in Burke appointing him.<sup>952</sup> Smith's role, apart from relieving an over-stretched staff, was to develop a component in Australian art historical studies. Burke believed that having 'Smith in the department would immensely strengthen it in many ways but principally

<sup>950</sup> John Spencer and Peter Wright (eds), *The writings of Bernard Smith: bibliography, 1938–1998*, Sydney, Power Publications, 2000, p.7. Smith sent a copy of this article to Burke who handed it to Philipp. See Smith's autobiography, *A pavane for another time*, p.370.

<sup>951</sup> Smith to Burke, 28 May 1953, UMA/BP.

<sup>952</sup> On Smith's return from England in 1950 his re-employment at the Art Gallery of New South Wales and the Education Department of New South Wales was under scrutiny. Mary Alice Evatt, then a trustee of the former, supported Smith through the political crisis that potentially could have devastated his professional career. In 1951, the anti-communist Bill was passed, but after a successful High Court challenge and an unsuccessful referendum to ban the party, Smith became politically neutral. He was very negative about his treatment by the Trustees of the AGNSW and the NSW Education Department, UMA/BP.

in reaching the goal of making it a centre of research into Australian culture, in which he has already achieved a nation-wide reputation by his publications.<sup>953</sup> Bernard Smith accepted the offer, although was unable to take it up until 1956. However, he travelled to Melbourne on a number of occasions to give lectures, including one to the National Gallery Society.

This Australianising of the new department was particularly important given the growing autonomy of the Australian economy and culture. But Smith was emphatic about not 'separat[ing] such studies from their European sources ... It was my view then and is still my view now, that it is not possible to locate Australian art historically without some knowledge of the European art from which it derives.'<sup>954</sup>

Daryl Lindsay, having clearly changed his bearings regarding the politically radical Smith and disregarding his brother Lionel's antagonism towards communists, became supportive of Smith's appointment.<sup>955</sup>

Regarding Bernard Smith for your staff there is nothing I would agree with more wholeheartedly. He is an excellent chap and his knowledge on the history of Australian painting is second to none. I have grown to have a great respect for everything he does — he is a first class scholar and would be a wonderful addition to your staff if you could get him, and would relieve you and Philipp tremendously. It would further place Melbourne in the position of having at the Chair of Fine Arts and the National Gallery the best collection of brains — if I may say so in this country.<sup>956</sup>

Indeed, without Smith, 'Fine Arts' would not have developed so successfully that part of art historical studies that turned 'more and more to our own national resources and tradition.'<sup>957</sup> That national tradition could only be defined — apart from the indigenous art and culture — within the richly formulated boundaries of Europe's past.

Bernard Smith's path to academia had, on one hand, been a carefully constructed route while, on the other, it was a dialectical voyage that he had steered through Marxist waters, anchoring along the way at the Communist community in

<sup>953</sup> Burke to Acting Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, 14 August 1953, UMA/BP/Acc. 83.34.

<sup>954</sup> Spencer and Wright (eds), *Writings of Bernard Smith*, p.7.

<sup>955</sup> Bernard Smith had applied for the position of Assistant Director at the NGV in late 1946, but was not considered even though his qualifications were good. This was because of his association with communism, though the reason given was that 'he did not have any war service experience'. The position was given to Robert Haines. NGV Trustees Minutes, 18 December 1946, SLV.

<sup>956</sup> Burke to Acting Vice-Chancellor, quoting Daryl Lindsay, UMA/ 312 1953/385.

<sup>957</sup> Burke to Acting Vice-Chancellor, 14 August 1953, UMA/BP/Acc. 83.34.



Sydney.<sup>958</sup> After a period of teaching in the country, he began to collaborate with Sydney artists, intellectuals and European refugees, many of whom were concerned about art in education. Herbert Read, Karl Marx and Arnold Toynbee were seminal to Smith's intellectual development, his socialism and his argument with 'power relations',<sup>959</sup> particularly the ideas of historical materialism and capitalist elitism. The arrival of European refugees such as George Berger and Heidi Spiegel in Sydney around 1940 further emphasised the imperialistic disadvantages that they and his Australian comrades faced. They too were victims or reflections of the Old World, a world that had been reshuffled by the forces of communism, socialism, nationalism and totalitarianism. In other words, they were outsiders, just as Bernard Smith felt himself to be. Despite Smith's sense of social dualism, a resistance and attraction towards elitism was what informed his investigation of society and culture. Elitism, as a credential of cultural hierarchism, was the trigger for Smith's pursuit of Marxist and communist principles in the first place, and he rode on the back and the underbelly of cultural elitism in order to secure both an intimate and outside understanding of it. Paradoxically, Smith believed in the critical and the superior state of the intellectual and the artist, while all the time continuing to plough the field of culture as an ideological mission, one in which he hoped to establish a 'broad base'.<sup>960</sup> Initially, that mission manifested itself through his conviction that art must be taken to the people, the disadvantaged masses in the country.

Under the initiative of Mary Alice Evatt, the Trustees of the Art Gallery of New South Wales had developed the concept of travelling art exhibitions, and Bernard Smith was appointed as the exhibition officer.<sup>961</sup> His pioneering efforts in this area culminated with two series of exhibitions between 1944 and 1946 arranged through the

<sup>958</sup> Smith relinquished his membership of the Communist Party of Australia some years before his academic appointment to the University of Melbourne

<sup>959</sup> Fay Brauer, 'Hegelian history, Wölfflinean periodization and 'Smithesque modernism', *Art History*, xxiv (no.3, June 2001), 449.

<sup>960</sup> Bernard Smith, 'Notes on elitism and the arts', *Meanjin*, xxxiv (no.2, June 1975), 120. Smith asserted in *Place, taste and tradition*, that Australian art and culture possessed a native democratic tradition.

<sup>961</sup> Mary Alice Evatt the first appointed woman of the Trustees of the National Gallery of New South Wales was well acquainted with art and cultural programmes in America, Great Britain and Europe, and had 'represented the AGNSW in discussions about post-war exhibitions with the Carnegie Trust'. See *Mary Alice Evatt: Mas, 1898-1973*, Exhibition Catalogue, Bathurst Regional Gallery, 2002, p.9.

New South Wales Education Department and the Art Gallery of New South Wales.<sup>962</sup>

Even with this accomplishment, Smith continued to lament that 'Art is created by an elitist minority and is addressed to an elitist minority'.<sup>963</sup>

A few years ago an art exhibition in an Australian country town was as rare as a kangaroo in King's cross. It was assumed in many places, perhaps for the sake of convenience, that country people were not interested in the arts... Art, such people [country folk] assume, is a peculiar activity indulged in by strange people who live in cities.<sup>964</sup>

During the 1940s, Smith had been concerned with centre (metropolis) and periphery (country towns). By the 1950s, his theory of imperialist elitism had developed along the same paradigm, but it was now constructed through the concept of imperial colonisation.

In much of Smith's polemics there is the inference of provincial defensiveness, and this is what drove him to use art, 'the reflection of a reflection' in his quest for an historical identity. His ground-breaking book, *Place, Taste and Tradition: A study of Australian art since 1788*, published by Sidney Ure Smith in 1945, gave body to the history of Australian art, and contextualised the traditional cultural influences and the making of Australia as an 'international fusion of many national styles'.<sup>965</sup>

In 1949 Smith received a British Council scholarship to study at the Courtauld Institute in London. The two years in London and Europe from 1948 to 1950 were pivotal for his maturing as a scholar and his success as an historian. Importantly, this period consolidated his conceptual long view of the antipodes, where myth, illusion and scientific reality often merged to create an antipodean hybrid. In London, Anthony Blunt attached the 'colonial' tag to Smith reinforcing Smith's defensiveness or perhaps his overt confidence — 'the Courtauld was very diffident about taking art people from Australia'.<sup>966</sup> Instead, he was relocated to the elite finishing school of European minds at the Warburg Institute. Taken under the wing of the English scholar Charles Mitchell

<sup>962</sup> The exhibition circuit encompassed forty regional towns during 1944–5 and included 350 paintings all sent by rail. See [Bernard Smith], *Art in the country*, Sydney, National Art Gallery of New South Wales, [1946].

<sup>963</sup> Smith, 'Notes on elitism and the arts', p.119.

<sup>964</sup> [Smith], *Art in the country*, p.3.

<sup>965</sup> Smith, *Place, taste and tradition*, p.30. William Moore's *The story of Australian art*, published in 1934 was the only comprehensive study of Australian art.

<sup>966</sup> Smith, interview, 23 April 2003.

who had helped many 'alien' scholars, including Ursula Hoff in the late 1930s and Joseph Burke in the late 1940s,<sup>967</sup> Smith began to develop his thesis of 'the relativism of European perceptions of the Pacific'<sup>968</sup>.

Smith's magnum opus, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, placed art within its 'social and institutional framework' and emphasised the nature of exchange as 'each is defined by the other, Europe by the Pacific, Australia by Europe'.<sup>969</sup> Importantly, his scholarship established the contextual relationships of reciprocity between imperialism and the exotic notion of peripheral civilization. Smith argued that culture on the edge could be a diffusive result of the impact and collision of two cultures, one being subversive towards the original, yet each unique within its hybridity.<sup>970</sup>

During this London period, Bernard Smith was keen to utilise his museum and exhibition experience, and he wrote to Sir Kenneth Clark in November 1949 raising the possibility of putting on 'a first class exhibition of contemporary Australian painting in England'.<sup>971</sup> This was a reversal of cultural capital by taking contemporary Australian art — a hybrid original — to its imperial mother. Smith furthermore suggested something of an exchange and asked 'whether it would ever be possible to have a Constable, Turner or Gainsborough exhibition' in Australia.<sup>972</sup> Clark had visited Australia in 1949, and seen some modern Australian art and Smith was undoubtedly building on this. Nothing, however, eventuated. A decade later Smith suggested a similar venture to Bryan Robertson of the Whitechapel Gallery of putting on an exhibition of 'the Antipodeans'. Robertson, who had been working on his 'New Generation' series of exhibitions was immersed in research for *Recent Australian Painting* planned for 1961 and rejected Smith's offer on the grounds that 'there wasn't

<sup>967</sup> Charles Mitchell to Burke, 'Good Friday' [4 April 1947]. Mitchell, an Oxford graduate in history, strongly urged Burke to publish his manuscript on 'Hogarth's Analysis', even though Ellis Waterhouse had suggested to Herbert Read that Mitchell himself should do a volume on Hogarth. UMA/BP/Acc. 86.37, Personal correspondence, M-N.

<sup>968</sup> Smith's one year British Council scholarship was extended to two years, and had been supported by Burke. See Smith, *A pavane for another time*, p.237.

<sup>969</sup> Beilharz, *Imagining the antipodes*, p.74.

<sup>970</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>971</sup> Smith to Clark, 1 November 1949, TGA/KCP/MSS 8812.1.2.6059.

<sup>972</sup> *Ibid.*

room for two shows at the same time', particularly as Smith's was a 'self-conscious selection of [figurative] art'.<sup>973</sup>

Bernard Smith believed that socialist realist tropes should dominate the art of the present. 'It is the business of history' Smith wrote, 'to mark out contours in time that renders the structure of our present intellectual and aesthetic landscape intelligible.'<sup>974</sup> Abstraction was not, according to Smith, intellectually accessible — except as an antithetical argument for the superiority of figuration. This was most evident in 1959 when Smith convened a group of artists, whom Franz Philipp claimed shared a 'defence of the image...a figure shape or symbol that communicates... that refers to experiences the artist shares with his audience'.<sup>975</sup> The group exhibition entitled *The Antipodeans* was, in Philipp's opinion, strong on 'coherence, variety and vigour', and revealed a native, individualist strength.<sup>976</sup> However, the artists disbanded as soon as they had come together; it seemed that Smith's voice was too political for what Ursula Hoff called the 'rarefied feelings and high tensions' of artistic dispositions.<sup>977</sup> Philipp's review of the exhibition suggested a degree of mockery:

The climate of the postwar hangover has not favoured the formation of groups and the raising of banners. The great claims and hopes of the first three decades of the century have dried up, and the forties and fifties have been a time of artistic retrenchment. The legendary figures are old men; the enthusiasms and iconoclasms, the new heaven-and-earth expectations of the Bauhaus, of the Constructivists and Neo-plasticists and many others have joined the collection of past utopias.

The age of manifestos had largely by-passed Australia. Are the Antipodeans trying to catch up?<sup>978</sup>

During the sensitive political climate of the fifties, Smith was regarded as politically radical. His Marxist/socialist values saw him support those artists politically and morally aligned with social realism, or as Smith explained, the boundaries between social and socialist realism invariably run together.<sup>979</sup>

<sup>973</sup> Bryan Robertson, '45-99: a personal view of British painting and sculpture, Cambridge, Kettle's Yard, 2000, p.14. Bryan Robertson, interview, 13 May 2002

<sup>974</sup> Smith, *Place, taste and tradition*, p.23.

<sup>975</sup> Franz Philipp 'Antipodeans aweigh', *Nation*, 29 August 1959, p.18.

<sup>976</sup> Ibid, p.19.

<sup>977</sup> Hoff, 'Elitism', p.73.

<sup>978</sup> Philipp, 'Antipodeans aweigh', p.18.

<sup>979</sup> Bernard Smith, *Noel Counihan: artist and revolutionary*, Melbourne, OUP, 1993, p.5.

As a modern humanist intellectual and critic of a society, art and culture, Bernard Smith may have consciously distorted his analysis of art because of his Marxist orientation, that 'of the rootedness of art in political, economic and class circumstances'.<sup>980</sup> However, as a polemicist he was an important, accessible and popular counter-balance to the European dominated School of Art History. His lectures on Australian subject-matter ranged from 'Australian colonial architecture', 'Australian colonial painting' and 'Australian Victorian architecture' to 'Contemporary art in Australia', or 'Art in Melbourne in 1956', the last presented in a more formal capacity as a lecture at the National Gallery Society.<sup>981</sup> His discourse on 'national identity' of both the indigenous and the other was explored in lectures such as 'Changing attitudes to native peoples' and dealt with 'the connections and interconnections of [European] cultural contact'.<sup>982</sup> Smith's interest in Australian identity as an underlying intellectual trope — 'a national tradition arises from people as they struggle with their social and geographic environment'<sup>983</sup> — was as pertinent for him and his students in the latter 1950s as it had been in his research of European settlement in the Pacific.

Ursula Hoff also explored the issue of Australian national identity in her seminal and pioneering article 'Reflections on the Heidelberg School, 1885-1900', published in *Meanjin* in 1951. In it she revealed her understanding of the contributing forces towards a nascent Australian nationalism, manifested through the arts of literature and painting. Australian Impressionism, she argued, self-consciously helped construct a tradition, a symbolic representation that identified the essential features of 'Australian national life from that of England and Europe'. By virtue of its use of the 'fleeting moment' and 'natural vision' Australian Impressionism had replaced the narrative realism of exploration and colonisation that had occupied Smith in his *European Vision*. Hoff's investigation of Australian identity came through the Heidelberg painters and their grand national spectacles, designed in the manner of

<sup>980</sup> 'Intelligence and servitude: the Marxist critics', *Times Literary Supplement: essays and reviews*, London, OUP, 1963, p.86

<sup>981</sup> Smith had written the forward to the Olympic exhibition at the NGV.

<sup>982</sup> Smith, *Place, taste and tradition*, p.31.

<sup>983</sup> *Ibid.* p.30.

Courbet and Millet, to portray the 'unostentatious heroism' of Australia's working men and women.<sup>984</sup>

National identity concerned Bernard Smith and Joseph Burke, but each man pursued it through fundamentally differing ways: Burke through the prism of predominantly eighteenth century English and European values, Smith through a contemporaneous focus of Australian cultural and political identity. Yet historical elitism became as much of an intellectual wedge as an intellectual attraction for these diametrically different scholars. Smith's valiative polemic on Australian art was important at a time when Australian society was largely an 'uncritical culture' — 'What Australia lacked was not artists but an informed audience for art'.<sup>985</sup> When Smith began his academic career, there was a changing audience that demanded a new process of evaluation, and he met this intellectual and cultural shift of the post-war world with invigorated, scholarly enthusiasm.

### The Spectacle of Culture<sup>986</sup>

'Let's enjoy art in comfort', proclaimed Eric Westbrook when he commenced as the director of the National Gallery of Victoria in January 1956. (plate 50) As a new director working with a new government — Henry Bolte's Liberal Government — Westbrook was endowed with a 'native genius'.<sup>987</sup> His responsibility, he believed, was to revitalise the institution; moreover, he was committed to overseeing the birth of the new gallery and cultural centre at Wirth's Park on the Yarra River. Westbrook's preceding job at the Auckland City Art Gallery in New Zealand had been based around 'a programme of reconstruction in the buildings and the collections',<sup>988</sup> but in

<sup>984</sup> Hoff, 'Reflections', 125–33.

<sup>985</sup> Bernard Smith, *The boy Adeodatus: the portrait of a lucky young bastard*, Melbourne, Penguin, 1985, p.297.

<sup>986</sup> The modern concept of the spectacle as defined by the French intellectual Guy Debord.

<sup>987</sup> *Herald*, 5 May 1956. Gordon Thomson, telephone interview, 12 July 2004.

<sup>988</sup> Eric Westbrook to Sir Kenneth Clark, 16 May 1952, TGA/KCP/8812.1.2.387.

Melbourne he was able to rely on experienced staff such as Ursula Hoff and Gordon Thomson to manage this established large, first class collection. This enabled him to concentrate his efforts on implementing ideas that would advance the Gallery towards its new incarnation.

Westbrook had been involved with art and education in England as a guide lecturer with the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts during the war. In 1946 he became the director of the Wakefield Gallery in Yorkshire before being recruited onto the staff of the British Arts Council. As an exhibition officer during the post-war period, he toured art exhibitions by artists such as Henry Moore and Ben Nicholson throughout Europe, witnessing the damage wreaked upon major centres such as Dusseldorf.<sup>989</sup> Westbrook understood the destruction of the Old World and the alienation that followed the havoc and dehumanisation of the Second World War. His involvement with the British Council and its cultural policies made him aware of the necessity and power of the public spectacle as a form of reconstruction in the new world.<sup>990</sup> In this sense, Westbrook's initial scheme to sweep the National Gallery of Victoria of its dusty, conservative past, and replace it with a concept 'concerned with the unity of the arts' in its modern usage, is understandable.<sup>991</sup>

Westbrook's entrepreneurial methods in Melbourne focused on the spectacle of the press and television and upset conservatives who, under Daryl Lindsay, had previously dominated the institution. Lindsay, having reluctantly stepped down from the directorship at the retirement age of 65 years — he continued to visit the Gallery assuming the role of de facto director or senior adviser — made clearly visible his antipathy towards Westbrook. The new director openly complained that he had 'inherited Daryl Lindsay's enemies and none of his friends'.<sup>992</sup> Gordon Thomson, the Gallery's assistant director, observed that 'the new man wants to separate himself from the old man, so Westbrook rejected Daryl Lindsay and always deprecated Lindsay's contribution'.<sup>993</sup> Daryl Lindsay also admitted that,

<sup>989</sup> Westbrook, telephone interviews, 28 March 2000, 19 February 2002 and 8 April 2002.

<sup>990</sup> I refer to the Debordian principles of the 'spectacle of society' and the important thesis by Guy Debord on alienation as a primary characteristic of contemporary society.

<sup>991</sup> Eric Westbrook, interviewed by Hazel de Berg, 14 August 1962, NLA Oral History Collection.

<sup>992</sup> Westbrook, telephone interview, 28 March 2000.

<sup>993</sup> Gordon Thomson, interview, 20 July 2001.

It was difficult to find a successor to me — McDonnell having dug himself in in London did not want it ... We got [Westbrook] ... he has a number of weaknesses but on the whole he will do better than any of the Australians who applied — a bit of new blood will not do much harm — His worst points are a kind of flashiness and I don't think he has much scholarship but he appears to have a good administrative mind and if he has the sense to depend on Hoff who is really very good on the picture side and Gordon Thomson who is the curator of the museum (furniture, silver, glass, ceramics) I believe he will get on alright.<sup>994</sup>

Taking advantage of the post-war climate and its ideological new world praxis, Westbrook stormed against the establishment and maximised the new media propaganda. This was the change that the Gallery needed, and Westbrook with the Building Appeals Committee floated the proposed new gallery with great aplomb. 'Westbrook is running the Gallery like a high class advertising agent, but this is possibly a good thing', wrote Burke.<sup>995</sup> While Bernard Smith's or Joseph Burke's civic responsibility was to educate and take art to the people, Eric Westbrook, though not disinclining to that ethos, wanted people to come to art. So fully did he throw himself into the proposed gallery, that several staff members and individuals associated with the heartbeat of Melbourne's art world, such as Ursula Hoff, John Reed and John Brack, soon found Westbrook full of vacuous promises, weak on administration and 'often peripatetic and diffuse'.<sup>996</sup> Dismissive of certain values of the past, Westbrook was reported as stating that the Swanston Street Gallery was 'a lot of useless columns ... supposed to imbue you with the idea you were entering a cultural cloister ... we don't want to waste money on a building with a classical façade and marble halls — let us get a building that will give us gallery space'.<sup>997</sup> John Brack felt that Westbrook's enthusiasm for modern art was simply a 'concept [of] new for new's sake, not as an idea engendered and fertilised from experience'.<sup>998</sup>

Eric Westbrook adored the public interface of television, radio, the entertaining of politicians, the monied and the elite. This was the start of an era of dionysian capitalism, and the cultural spectacle was increasingly desired by society. Tom

<sup>994</sup> Daryl Lindsay to Kenneth Clark, 20 November 1955, TGA/KCP/MS. 8812.1.3.1669.

<sup>995</sup> Burke to A. J. McDonnell, UMA/BP/Acc. 86.37.

<sup>996</sup> Cox, p.262.

<sup>997</sup> *Walkabout Magazine*, n.d., National Gallery of Victoria Scrapbook.

<sup>998</sup> 'Letter from John and Helen Brack, 1996' in Plant (ed.), 1956 *Melbourne*, p.44.



Bottomore's observation that 'The need for 'charismatic' leaders and elites seems to be most keenly felt where ever complex and difficult social changes are taking place and familiar ways of life are disappearing'<sup>999</sup> was as appropriate as it had been a decade earlier in Melbourne's social, political and economic development. And Westbrook's aspirations ran remarkably close to that 'essential trait of contemporary capitalism', the spectacle, in its Debordian sense of a material and cultural condition based on a 'social relation among people, mediated by images'.<sup>1000</sup> This seemed a logical sequence after the Queen's coronation in 1953, her visit to Australia in 1954 and the sixteenth Olympic Games held in Melbourne in its Mediterranean summer of 1956. As Australia's grandest twentieth century spectacle, the Olympic Games hosted an internationalism not seen on such a scale since the great international exhibitions held at Melbourne's Exhibition Building during the 1880s.

Local and national art and culture were included in the Olympic pageantry, and numerous large works of art were commissioned for public venues — such as Leonard French's mural for the University of Melbourne and Arthur Boyd's ceramic 'Totem Pole' for the new Olympic Swimming Pool.<sup>1001</sup> The Olympic Arts festival held a 'month-long celebration of Australian music, theatre, architecture, industrial design and the visual arts,'<sup>1002</sup> with the National Gallery putting on an exhibition of Australian art from pre European to the present.<sup>1003</sup> Westbrook just kept the carnival spirit going.

By July 1957 Westbrook had appointed Leonard French as exhibition officer, who — together with John Stringer — began to use the collection 'as a resourceful

<sup>999</sup> Bottomore, *Elites and society*, p.72.

<sup>1000</sup> Len Bracken, *Guy Debord: revolutionary*, Venice, Feral House, 1997, p.vii.

Guy Debord's *Society of the spectacle*, Detroit, Black and Red, 1983, para.4. Debord engaged with the post-war anarchist and avant-garde movements in Paris during the 1950s. Their philosophies marked Paris as the intellectual centre of the Western world. Melbourne's artists and intellectuals were provincial bohemians in comparison to the French schools of intellectual discontent. Debord analysed and presented that discontent with the creation of the *Situationist International* movement. The Cobra movement was an adjacent movement operating in Europe at this time. One of Melbourne's intellectual counterparts was 'The Drift', a group of intellectuals, artists and journalists. Chris Wallace Crabbe 'The Foo Scene'.

<sup>1001</sup> Hoff remembers on a visit to Murrumbidgee watching Arthur Boyd making the tiles for this commission. Hoff, interviewed by Haese, 3 March 1975, SLV/Oral History Collection.

<sup>1002</sup> Plant (ed.), *1956 Melbourne*, p.12.

<sup>1003</sup> The Olympic Arts committee included Burke and Daryl Lindsay, and the recently arrived Eric Westbrook, whose involvement was superficial.

tool'.<sup>1004</sup> Included in the *Survey Exhibitions* was a show in July titled *6 Sculptors*. This exhibition presented contemporary sculpture and highlighted the neglect of the medium both within the Gallery's collection and more broadly the public domain. As Westbrook pointed out in the catalogue:

By the nature of his medium, especially by its bulk and weight, the sculptor has suffered more than the painter in having his work shown or acquired by public galleries. Equally, the somewhat puritan tendency of much modern architecture has meant the too frequent divorce of sculpture from its natural relationship with the building.<sup>1005</sup>

What distinguished this exhibition was the predominance of European artists, with Norma Redpath again being the only Australian. The other five artists, Inge King, Vincent Yomantis, Clifford Last, Teitstis Zikaris and Julius Kane had all arrived in Australia around 1950 and quietly transplanted their European aesthetic into the art world of Melbourne. Their influence, as Geoffrey Edwards has suggested, 'revitalised visual language' towards the new abstraction of 'simple organic and geometric forms ... an essentially reductivist, ascetic.'<sup>1006</sup> Sculptural innovations continued with Henry Moore's large bronze sculpture *Draped Seated Woman* being acquired for the Gallery in 1959. This seemed to set the tone for monumental modernism, a style that had become a topic of considerable criticism when the architect Roy Grounds presented his 'timeless' design for the new gallery. It too, shared the same solid dimensions as the Moore sculpture, 'approach[ing] a transcendental state in which the form of the body is no longer noticed'.<sup>1007</sup>

A new aesthetic consumerism had begun in the 1950s, ranging from the *Herald* Outdoor Art Show to the specialised commercial galleries.<sup>1008</sup> In the Melbourne working-class suburb of Collingwood, the Australian Galleries opened in 1956 with a renovated professional approach to contemporary art, one that was more akin to the

<sup>1004</sup> James Mollison, interview, 9 September 1999. John Stringer was the first of the younger generation to be employed at the Gallery in 1957, specifically as an assistant to Hoff. He gradually moved across to 'exhibitions' when Leonard French began in 1958, and took over that position when French left in 1961.

<sup>1005</sup> Eric Westbrook, forward to *6 Sculptors*, exhibition catalogue, NGV, 1959.

<sup>1006</sup> Geoffrey Edwards, *Clifford Last sculpture: a retrospective exhibition*, Melbourne, NGV, 1989–90, p.11. The Gallery purchased drawings by Redpath, Jomantis and King.

<sup>1007</sup> David Saunders, 'Victorian Arts Centre: gallery building', *Art and Australia*, vi (no.3, 1968), 203.

<sup>1008</sup> See Heathcote's account of the rise of commercial galleries in Melbourne from 1956 in *Quiet revolution*, pp.156–71.

European styled art dealer, or 'artist's agent', but with a new post-war twist representative of 'cultural entrepreneurship'.<sup>1009</sup> This also produced a new breed of patron, and the role of the contemporary artist within society began its modern transformation into a symbol of capitalism's new prosperous post-war state.<sup>1010</sup>

Westbrook proposed that the gallery in St. Kilda Road be a pluralistic cultural centre — 'Artists of all kinds should be able to meet together under very, very good circumstances in buildings specifically designed to enable the arts to be performed'.<sup>1011</sup> This meant that he approached the paradigm of elitism in the arts somewhat like Bernard Smith, that 'elites were checked by the non-elites'. Both men were searching for a more democratic solution to the changing dynamics of society and its culture.<sup>1012</sup> Into this schema Westbrook incorporated Joseph Burke, the man he regarded as possessing the most power within the cultural field of Melbourne. Westbrook felt he could rely on his fellow Englishman for guidance and support, and he regularly conferred with Burke on potential acquisitions for the Gallery as well as in the appointment of the architect for the new cultural centre and gallery.<sup>1013</sup> On the latter, the two Englishmen were emphatic that the Melbourne architect Roy Grounds was the man for the job. Grounds was recognised as a 'bold and creative individual', but was reputedly arrogant and domineering. His ousting of his partners Robin Boyd and Frederick Romberg implicated Westbrook and Burke as responsible for the *fait accompli* of a single local architect being appointed without the 'expected' conditions of advertising or competition. Over the coming years, Grounds's handling of the staff in relation to the design of the new gallery tested the director who clearly supported the architect over and above his staff.<sup>1014</sup> Ursula Hoff fiercely voiced her concern to Joseph Burke concerning Grounds's unwillingness to listen to the practical

<sup>1009</sup> Ibid, p.158.

<sup>1010</sup> Other commercial galleries were established such as Gallery A in 1959 which sold European art, South Yarra Gallery 1961, Leveson Street Gallery in 1962; Tolarno Galleries, Pincotheca and Joseph Brown Gallery in 1967, with the first two handling European work. See Kathryn Chiba, *Dr Joseph Brown: dealing in cultural capital*, M.A. thesis, School of Fine Arts, Classical Studies and Archaeology, University of Melbourne, 1999.

<sup>1011</sup> Eric Westbrook, interviewed by Hazel de Berg, 14 August 1962, NLA/OHC.

<sup>1012</sup> G. Lowell Field and John Higley, *Elitism*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, pp.18–19.

<sup>1013</sup> Westbrook regularly visited the University, just as Daryl Lindsay had done before him, endlessly discussing the Gallery with Burke.

<sup>1014</sup> David Lawrence, telephone interview.

requirements that an experienced curator like Hoff insisted on, 'I have been devoted to this collection ever since I came here and I find it incomprehensible how anyone should think otherwise'.<sup>1015</sup> That Hoff had to defend herself in this way reveals a climate of internal disquiet, which by the late 1950s had, in certain spheres, created a tense and divisive environment. Although Hoff was enormously respected by the staff, her peers and the public, she increasingly found the gulf between herself and Westbrook insurmountable, and their professional relationship was strained.<sup>1016</sup>

### **Traditional *Forte***

While politics and the public spectacle dominated the proposed cultural jewel,<sup>1017</sup> or as it was later referred to as 'the Kremlin of St Kilda Road',<sup>1018</sup> the decade of the fifties delivered magnificent European works of art, but not necessarily through the Felton Bequest; that had been exhausted by the acquisition of the Barlow collection of Dürer prints in 1956.<sup>1019</sup> As Ursula Hoff explained of the post-war period:

Old master buying had perforce to take a minor place... from 1955 onwards the number and importance of older works presented decreased sharply. The last acquisition of an old master painting by the Felton Bequest was made in 1959 with the *Leigh Family* by Romney... The spectacular rise of market prices and the diminishing opportunities to secure such works were the reason for this decline.<sup>1020</sup>

<sup>1015</sup> Hoff to Burke, 20 May 1964, UMA/BP/Private correspondence.

<sup>1016</sup> This is evident in numerous memos in NGV/HC, and of Westbrook, Hoff said 'Westbrook followed Daryl and that was the end', Hoff interviewed by Mellon, SLV/OHC, 1989.

<sup>1017</sup> In the first few months of 1961, Eric Westbrook 'delivered talks about the project to 130 different audiences', see the *Examiner*, 17 November 1962. Between 1959 to 1963 the NGV Scrapbook is dominated by news clippings of Roy Grounds and Eric Westbrook as the plans for the new gallery take shape.

<sup>1018</sup> Gordon Thomson interview.

<sup>1019</sup> After paying its first instalment of the Dürer collection in 1956, the Felton Bequest fund had £8,880 left. Though the Barlow collection arrived during Westbrook's time, negotiations had been initiated by Daryl Lindsay much earlier.

<sup>1020</sup> Hoff, 'A.J.L. McDonnell as adviser to the Felton Bequest and its purchasing policy during the post-war period', *Annual bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, vi (1964), p.3.

Another legacy, the Everard Studley Miller Bequest, gave the Gallery an extension of financial purchasing power — £200,000 — on the international market. In 1959, McDonnell presented a Rubens portrait, *Study of a head for a portrait of Louis XIIth* that had been authenticated and supported by the eminent Rubens authority and Ursula Hoff's old London colleague, Dr Ludwig Burchard. This was followed by a Sir Thomas Lawrence portrait of *Robert Hobart, fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire*, and a Joseph Highmore portrait of *Samual Booth, Messenger of the Order of the Bath*.<sup>1021</sup> The bequest instructed that only 'Portraits of persons of merit in history, painted, sculptured or engraved before 1800' were to be considered.<sup>1022</sup> This naturally shifted a large part of the responsibility onto Ursula Hoff whose field of scholarship was precisely the period instructed in the bequest — European art before 1800. This bequest was extraordinary for another reason. In 1935, when Ursula Hoff had returned to Hamburg to complete her dissertation, she had embarked upon research for a chapter that was amazingly similar to the criteria stated in the Studley Miller Bequest. Unfortunately Hoff had been unable to pursue this research in Germany because of Nazi censorship of material and travel. In a letter to Professor Constable of the Courtauld Institute in London in 1935, Hoff had written 'I have been thinking of doing more research to trace the history of the portrait of men of genius in general, from the middle ages on to the early nineteenth century, in close connection with literature. It would interest me very much ...this somewhat strange problem of melancholic genius'.<sup>1023</sup>

The Studley Miller Bequest gave Ursula Hoff the opportunity to apply her scholarship of European masters of the portrait genre and she was able to reactivate the topic that had once assumed such importance to her. This bequest invigorated her role at the Gallery and reaffirmed her identity as a major scholar just at a time when Westbrook's modernising had begun to destabilise her authority. Furthermore, the bequest forged her relationship with the Felton Adviser A.J.L. McDonnell in his search for specific portraits.

<sup>1021</sup> See Cox, pp.282–3.

<sup>1022</sup> Hoff, 'The Everard Studley Miller Bequest' in Bradley and Smith (eds), *Australian art and architecture*, p.160.

<sup>1023</sup> Hoff to W.G. Constable, 27 March 1935.

In May 1959 Hoff set off on a nine-month research trip that took her through Greece, Turkey, Austria, East Germany, England, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, France and the United States of America.<sup>1024</sup> (plate 51) The journey was primarily to carry out research for the 'Old Master section' of the forthcoming Gallery catalogue, an endeavour strongly supported and urged by the Felton Adviser A. J. L. McDonnell.<sup>1025</sup> Hoff was also asked to act as the adviser in conjunction with McDonnell on the Everard Studley Miller Bequest, which resulted in the acquisition of the Landau-Finely Collection of 505 etchings and engravings, and which comprised the Van Dyck Iconography. This body of prints comprised 'one hundred portraits of princes, scholars, painters, engravers, sculptors as well as connoisseurs painted from life by Anthony van Dyck and splendidly engraved [and] published by Gillis Hendrickx of Antwerp in 1645'.<sup>1026</sup> For Ursula Hoff, 1959 had ended triumphantly with a significant number of exceptional works of art.

A sense of living at the end of an era soon became evident under Westbrook's reign, particularly for Hoff whose reliable authority and preference for the past threw her into stark contrast to the director and his new, young staff. Furthermore, Eric Westbrook, Roy Grounds, Ken Myer, Ian Potter, Hugh Williamson, Henry Bolte, Leonard Cox and Joseph Burke were now all central to Melbourne's culture and arts and this new management of the National Gallery of Victoria was essential if it was to become the leading cultural beacon for Australia.

As it has been stressed elsewhere that there is no pattern for a public art collection which can be applied under any circumstances, a gallery must grow in accordance with the needs of the community which it serves and by building collections of furniture, ceramics, glass, textiles and similar material, as well as the 'Fine Arts', I believe that previous administrators have created a suitable pattern to answer the demands of Australia. I stress Australia rather than Victoria, for, as we are the only public gallery in a position to acquire important examples of world art, we have more than a local responsibility.<sup>1027</sup>

Westbrook's perception of a major collection being determined by the needs of the community was antithetical to precisely what Hoff and Daryl Lindsay and various

<sup>1024</sup> NGV/HC.

<sup>1025</sup> John McDonnell to Burke, 7 August 1956.

<sup>1026</sup> Hoff, 'Portraits acquired under the Everard Studley Miller Bequest', *Annual bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, ii (1960), p.15.

<sup>1027</sup> Eric Westbrook, *Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, I (1959).

Felton Advisers had attempted to define, a coherent pattern and an acquisition programme that met the needs of the collection first and foremost. The community, needless to say, would reap the benefits of a first-rate professionally devised programme.

But Hoff was not the only person to feel marginalised. Franz Philipp was also overloaded at this time with teaching, administration and the desperate situation of implementing a remodelled course of fine arts for students.<sup>1028</sup> Furthermore, he had committed himself to several large and demanding publication ventures, namely the festschrift for Daryl Lindsay, which he was co-editing with June Stewart, and an important review of 'University research in the history of art' for *The Humanities in Australia*. This review emphasised Philipp's seminal position within art historiography in Australia at the time:

Research in the history of art has an even shorter history in this country than that of other disciplines of the humanities ... It must be emphasised that the future of research in the history of art depends on its sound establishment on the level of undergraduate teaching ... historical isolationism... prevents... decisive links with the European tradition; other [research publications] suffer from a lack of familiarity with the methods which the nature of art historical material demands.<sup>1029</sup>

Of the National Gallery of Victoria, Philipp stressed its importance as 'a main focus of art historical research in this country', and the cataloguing of the collection, particularly 'sections containing masterpieces of post-classical European art, will indicate the standard of Australian scholarship in this field'.<sup>1030</sup> But even Franz Philipp, who possessed a poetic transcendence when it came to difficulties or even tragedy, could not see a solution for the 'crippling remoteness' of Australia to major centres of learning in Europe and America. This was compounded by what he felt were other 'great impediments' or 'gaps' and 'insufficiencies' in the holdings of art historical research libraries in Australia, including the absence of a comprehensive

<sup>1028</sup> Franz Philipp, 'Memorandum on the Syllabus of Fine Arts A – Fine Arts I', 18 September 1962, MUA/85.169

<sup>1029</sup> Philipp, 'University research in the history of art' in A. Grenfell Price (ed.), *The humanities in Australia*, Canberra, Angus & Robertson, 1959, pp.160–65.

<sup>1030</sup> Ibid, p.163–4

photographic collection.<sup>1031</sup> Philipp's efforts to sustain and expand the paradigms of art history in Melbourne were increasingly fraught by those who were in a position to help with his 'ideals of scholarship'—his strongest opponent being, ironically, Joseph Burke.<sup>1032</sup>

Burke had acknowledged Franz Philipp as the architect of the Fine Arts Department, and Philipp clearly saw himself by 1960 as its de facto professor. But Burke, though prepared to place publicly the laurel wreath on Philipp's head as its illustrious scholar, was not inclined to part with any of his professorial powers, no matter how far Philipp extended himself within this capacity.<sup>1033</sup> (plate 52)

Eric Westbrook wrote in 1959: 'We are poised between nearly a hundred years of past achievement and the unforeseeable future.'<sup>1034</sup> The next decade would prove a decisive one for Ursula Hoff and Franz Philipp. Both remained dedicated to their respective professions, but both became increasingly frustrated at the deviations taken by the two Englishmen, Westbrook and Burke, who ultimately were in charge of art and culture in Melbourne.

<sup>1031</sup> Ibid, p.165.

<sup>1032</sup> See Virginia Spate, 'Franz Philipp', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no.4, 1993), 517. June Stewart, Hoff and June Philipp each attest to the 'ferocious arguments' and the riven atmosphere between Philipp and Burke at the University.

<sup>1033</sup> June Stewart, interview, 17 May 2001.

<sup>1034</sup> Westbrook, *Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, I, 1959.



## Epilogue

### Et in Arcadia Ego

[T]he immortal words [*Et in arcadia ego*]... conjure up the retrospective vision of an unsurpassable happiness, enjoyed in the past, unobtainable ever after, yet enduringly alive in the memory: a bygone happiness ended by death...

Erwin Panofsky<sup>1035</sup>

As the decade of the fifties closed, a perverse application of *et in arcadia ego* began to materialise for Franz Philipp and Ursula Hoff, and to a degree Joseph Burke. The small 'glass bead' cultural environment of Melbourne had begun to crack.

At the University, Philipp, Hoff and a number of associates became increasingly critical of the Professor of Fine Art's extensive extramural activities, his cultural showmanship and various radical concepts, such as an Institute of Art.<sup>1036</sup> For example, Burke regarded the National Gallery Art School as 'a striking instance of new wine being poured into an old bottle. The Head [Alan Sumner] is a distinguished post-School-of-Paris painter and teacher administering a relic of the past.' Burke was keen to restructure the teaching between the Melbourne Technical College (now the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) and the National Gallery School, advancing the latter into an 'elite' Honours School — or a component of the Royal Melbourne Technical College.<sup>1037</sup> Burke's capacity to reformulate institutions along new lines was

<sup>1035</sup> Panofsky, '*Et in arcadia ego*: Poussin and the elegiac tradition' in *Meaning in the visual arts*, p.341.

<sup>1036</sup> Burke's view that the National Gallery Art School was in need of transformation was in part due to the plans for the new gallery and cultural centre, but he added that 'a review of the school and its place in the system of art education in Victoria is long overdue'. Memorandum 'The Future of the National Gallery Art School', sent to Daryl Lindsay, 14 October 1960, UMA/BP.

<sup>1037</sup> Ibid.

usually successful, but this attempt ran into difficulty and one man's idiosyncratic dream could not over-rule this established institution.

Joseph Burke was applauded by many for his dedication to the arts, his civic conscience and duties, even though others thought his empowering preferences overstepped the delicate line between patronage and politics. As Helen Brack wrote, 'the sad thing was that it [the Fine Arts Department] finally took the role — or tried to — of highest authority, to dictate how art should go. This was the division or polarisation that is still here and is still destructive'.<sup>1038</sup> Burke's seminal and powerful position in Melbourne's cultural progress nevertheless remained undisputed. He was a National Gallery Trustee from 1952 to 1956 and a member of the Felton Committee from 1956. He was on the Olympic Games Civic and Fine Arts committees, the National Gallery Society, the Society of Collectors, the Australian Industrial Design Council, the British Memorial Foundation and the Colonial Office Selection Committee.<sup>1039</sup> However, Burke's duties of the *Herald* Chair, which stipulated that 'the occupant would spend probably half his time within the University, and half outside it',<sup>1040</sup> and its commitments to satisfying the public interface of art and society, had begun to frustrate and exhaust Burke. Writing to Lionel Lindsay in 1961, he admitted that he had overcommitted himself and that 'this means simply the sacrifice of scholarship to administration':<sup>1041</sup>

The chief drawback of the Chair has been the multifarious claims and distractions which it involves, serving on c[ommi]ttees, opening exhibitions, making innumerable speeches and broadcasts and receiving an embarrassing number of social invitations which are difficult to decline without causing offence. Other disadvantages to study are the dearth of materials for research and especially the crying need and indeed duty of taking an active part in the reform of the art educational system of Victoria.

<sup>1038</sup> Helen Brack, 'Letter from John and Helen Brack, 1996', p.44.

<sup>1039</sup> The British Memorial Foundation was established in Melbourne in 1944 as an endowment to bring British scholars, academics or professionals to Australia such as T.S.R. Boase. It was dissolved in 1962, UMA/BMF, Acc.78/46.

<sup>1040</sup> Cox, p.234.

<sup>1041</sup> Burke to Lionel Lindsay, 7 April 1961, SLV/LFP/MS. 9104, 756–800, 1947–61.

Nevertheless, there are outstanding compensations in the liberal atmosphere of the University; the stimulus given by men who are pursuing different studies and the absence of routine administration.<sup>1042</sup>

Hoff and Philipp remained united in their commitment to the 'subjective integrity' of research and academic methodologies based on the European systems of art historical scholarship. Both adhered to the modern principle that 'the professional status of a gallery curator is greatly enhanced by an academic training ... and the necessity of research work in connection with the permanent collections.'<sup>1043</sup>

Ursula Hoff had always measured herself against eminent scholars, historians and curators working in the greatest art galleries of Britain, Europe and America, and by 1960 the National Gallery of Victoria had been recognised as a 'great institution', both nationally and internationally, in no small part because of Hoff.<sup>1044</sup> Similarly, it was Franz Philipp who strove for improvement in course structures and teaching appointments, so that the best students could be attracted to the department.<sup>1045</sup> While the two institutional heads, Burke and Westbrook, supported this, their *bon vivance*, social proclivities and an unrealistic load of commitments outside the University and the Gallery heightened the developing fissure between the two European scholars and the two English ones. The distance that began to emerge between Joseph Burke and his two colleagues was one of cause and effect. As Burke became less committed to running the department or more inclined to introduce 'lightweight' concepts that were not in keeping with Philipp's and Hoff's rational standards of education and scholarship, conflict was inevitable. As mature scholars who had successfully 'negotiated their professional space' and had become inextricably part of the Australian cultural and educational environment, they had gradually felt displaced as the social and cultural climate moved in new directions.

In 1956 Franz Philipp received a senior research fellowship at the Warburg Institute in London and in 1963 he was awarded a Carnegie Corporation travelling

<sup>1042</sup> Burke, Diary notes from 1930s to the early 1950s, UMA/BP. By the late 1960s and early seventies Burke was on twenty-five committees and was a member of nine clubs.

<sup>1043</sup> Hoff, 'Qualifications for Officers in Australian Art Galleries 1965', inaugural address at the Art Galleries Association of Australia, AGNSW, June 1965, UMA/HP, Box 34.

<sup>1044</sup> Terence Lane, interview, 23 June 2000. Robert Rosenblum, an art curator at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in the New York University, recalls Hoff's catalogue entries as being exemplary, 'in the best Martin Davies tradition', Rosenblum to the author, 24 August 2000.

<sup>1045</sup> June Stewart, interview, 21 June 2001.

fellowship to study in the United States of America. Both journeys placed him in contact with international scholars and reaffirmed the part of his European past that had been denied for almost twenty years. Similarly, Ursula Hoff's periods of international research in 1949–50, 1956 and 1959 reunited her with many scholars she had known in Germany during the 1930s. Eventually, these two important art historians began to consider other centres such as London or New York as potential places to reside and work. Their time and their happiness in Arcadia was diminishing.<sup>1046</sup> The climate of the late fifties and sixties was rapidly shifting to new intellectual and cultural paradigms, particularly those from America. For Hoff and Philipp their commitment was to Europe. Willem de Kooning had said 'After all, I am a foreigner, I am different because I am interested in art in its totality. I have a greater feeling of belonging to a tradition'.<sup>1047</sup> Franz Philipp, who intellectually and historically positioned the truths and relationships of cultural objects and their materiality within the full appreciation of art, could never reduce the importance of Europe and his commitment to it.

Joseph Burke, on the other hand, was content to remain at the centre of the periphery, Melbourne. His success and popularity was based on 'the rhetoric of eternity',<sup>1048</sup> — indeed, one student remembered him as 'eternally the same, the highest expression and insight',<sup>1049</sup> — and he never suffered an eclipse such as his continental colleagues began to experience. For Hoff and Philipp, who had always 'inhabited different worlds',<sup>1050</sup> their positions in the University and the Gallery may always have been tempered by a sense of exclusion. Perhaps, as European refugees, they had sensed that there was always a chance of another physical and intellectual transference or relocation — that of the *clerici vaganti*.<sup>1051</sup>

Ursula Hoff eventually returned to her birthplace, London, as the Felton Adviser in 1975, remaining in that position until 1984. Her long association with the

<sup>1046</sup> Hoff was offered the Chair of Art History at Auckland University in New Zealand in 1970, but declined it for personal reasons that involved her mother's health.

<sup>1047</sup> Cited in Kristeva, *Strangers to ourselves*, p.32.

<sup>1048</sup> Richter, *Walter Benjamin*, p.79.

<sup>1049</sup> Frank Ritchie, interview, 11 August 2001. Ritchie was one of the first students to take Fine Arts, from 1948 to 1951.

<sup>1050</sup> Margaret Plant, interview, 12 March 2003.

<sup>1051</sup> Burchardt, *Civilization of the renaissance*, p.147.

National Gallery of Victoria spanned over forty years and her critical judgment shaped much of its collection. In 1984 she returned to live in Melbourne. Franz Philipp embarked in 1970 on his sabbatical, but died in London before reaching his destination in America, where he had hoped to find a teaching position.<sup>1052</sup> He is credited by Virginia Spate as having given 'intellectual shape to the Melbourne Fine Arts Department, the first one in Australia'.<sup>1053</sup> Joseph Burke held the position of Herald Professor of Fine Art for thirty two years; his dedication to the arts in Australia may be defined by his ability to mobilise the intersecting disciplines of design, architecture, the plastic arts with art historical studies, bringing to it political acumen acquired through his experience in war-time and post-war Britain.

While creative impulses in the cultural and intellectual life of Australia were operating before the arrival of European émigrés in the late 1930s and the 1940s, 'the German exodus' was, as Donald Fleming has stated, 'an accelerating factor. Nothing can diminish the brilliance of the contribution of the migrants'.<sup>1054</sup> Unlike America, where the scientific and cultural environment was at an advanced stage, the elite European intellectuals and artists who chose to stay in Australia broke open new ground and in many cases joined and led those at the interface of cultural progress.

As Gert Schiff states, 'the history of art history is to a great extent a history of rehabilitations'.<sup>1055</sup> The historian's task is to restore as truthfully as possible the meaning or purpose of that material or those individuals associated with it. These art historians, trained in the great European manner, were conduits for some of Europe's most important philosophical, intellectual and cultural traditions. Joseph Burke, well acquainted as he had been with European scholarship, would not have been able to construct such an outstanding Department of Fine Arts, or the National Gallery of Victoria acquire so extensive a range of European masterpieces, without the 'dismissed savants'. The confluence of these European scholars with other important individuals within the arts was critical in this important phase of Australia's post-war cultural

<sup>1052</sup> June Philipp interview,

<sup>1053</sup> Virginia Spate, 'Franz Philipp', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no.4, 1993), p.517.

<sup>1054</sup> Donald Fleming in Mitchell G. Ash and Alfons Söllnar (eds), *Forced migration and scientific change: émigré German-speaking scientists and scholars after 1933*, Washington D.C, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.x-xi.

<sup>1055</sup> Gert Schiff, (Ed.), *German Essays on Art History*, New York, Continuum, 1988, vol. 79, p. xix.

development. As Ursula Hoff said, 'The important thing was that we were the first professionals of art history in this country'.<sup>1056</sup> Indeed, this was a period in which European knowledge and artistic processes gave Melbourne's local cultural and intellectual world a new and constructive direction. Hoff, Philipp and Burke saw art history as an important crucible for understanding style, content, ideas and personalities and the 'collective presence' of a period and, as pioneers of this discipline in Australia, their intellectual processes were all the more important. That this occurred at all in Australia and developed so successfully and within such a brief span of time attests to the commitment of a group of intellectuals who were able to give form to the ideals of scholarship and European culture within the challenging post-war environment of Melbourne, an environment both remote yet remarkably conducive to the reception of the most propitious and exciting influences of the new and the old worlds.

---

<sup>1056</sup> Ursula Hoff, interview, 24 October 2001.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### MANUSCRIPTS

##### Melbourne

*University of Melbourne Archives*

Dr Ursula Hoff Papers (UMA/HP)

Sir Joseph Burke Papers (UMA/BP)

Franz Philipp Papers (UMA/FFP)

*Shaw Research Library, National Gallery of Victoria, Library*

Dr Ursula Hoff Correspondence (NGV/HC)

*National Gallery of Victoria, Department of Prints and Drawings*

Dr Ursula Hoff Papers (NGV/HP)

*State Library of Victoria*

National Gallery of Victoria Trustees Minutes, 1946- (SLV/NGVT)

Felton Bequest Minutes (SLV/FBM)

Lindsay Family Papers (SLV/LFP)

The Catalyst Papers

*University Women's College, University of Melbourne*

Women's College Archives (WCA)

*Elisabeth Murdoch Library, School of Art History, Cinema Studies, Classics and Archaeology, University of Melbourne.*

Joseph Burke Art Archive.\*

*Alexandra Club*

The National Council of Women of Victoria Archives.

*In Private Hands*

Dr Ursula Hoff, privately held papers, in the possession of Mr Graham Ryles (HP/Private)

Sir Joseph Burke, privately held papers, in the possession of Mr Rickard Burke (BP/Private)

---

\* A catalogue of this collection, compiled by the author as part of the research for this dissertation, is attached as an appendix.

Chris Wallace Crabbe, 'The Foo scene', unpublished manuscript, in possession of the author.

Antonio Pagliari, 'Gino Nibbi: Il volto dell'emigrante', unpublished manuscript, in possession of the author.

### **Canberra**

*National Library of Australia*

Sir Keith Murdoch Papers, MS. 2823 (NLA/KMP)

Cathy Peake Papers, MS, 8891 (NLA/CPP)

*National Gallery of Australia*

James Mollison Papers (NGA/JMP)

### **London**

*Tate Gallery Archives*

Sir Kenneth Clark Papers (TGA/KCP)

*The Courtauld Institute of Art*

Registry Archives (CIA)

*The Warburg Institute*

Warburg Institute Archives (WIA)

*Public Record Office, Kew*

Ministry of Information Papers – INF. 1/313, INF 1/679, INF1/555, INF 1/871, INF 1/679 (PRO/INF)

*British Library*

Sir John Anderson Papers, MSS.Eur.F.207/39 (BL/JAP)

Sir Sidney Cockerall Papers (BL/SCP)

### **Oxford**

*Bodleian Library*

Clement Attlee Papers (Bod/MS.Attlee)

Society for the Protection of Science and Learning Papers (Bod/SPSL)

*Ashmolean Museum*

Hans Calmann Memoir (Ash/HCM)

### **Cambridge**

*Trinity College Library*

R.C. Trevelyan Papers



## INTERVIEWS

### Interviews conducted by the author

- Agnew, Julian – London, 20 May 2002.  
 Berryman, Pat – telephone, 9 November 2004.  
 Brack, Helen – Melbourne, 2 March 2000.  
 Brack, John and Helen – Melbourne, 15 September 1994.  
 Coppel, Stephen – London, 14 July 1999, 1 July 2002.  
 Crabbe, Chris Wallace – Melbourne, 22 July 2003.  
 Dean, Sonia – Melbourne, 20 March 2001.  
 Fabian, Erwin – Melbourne, 5 September 2000, December 2002.  
 Factor, June – Melbourne, September 2003.  
 Falk, Dr Barbara – Melbourne, 21 March 2002, 17 September 2002.  
 Fletcher, Hilda – Melbourne, 1 August 2001.  
 Freideberger, Klaus – London, 24 May 2002.  
 Garlick, Bob – Melbourne, 6 August 1999.  
 Garlick, Rosa – Melbourne, 6 August 1999.  
 Gilbert, Basil – telephone, 22 April 2002.  
 Hazel, Tom – Melbourne, 30 August 2001, March 2003, August 2003.  
 Helmer, June – Melbourne, July 2001.  
 Herbst, Professor Peter – Canberra, 26 February 2002.  
 Hoff, Dr Ursula – Melbourne, February 1999, 14 February 2001, 7 March 2001, 20 June 2001, 15 August 2001, 28 November 2001,  
 Hollingrake, Ros – telephone, May 2003.  
 Juda, Annely – London, 20 May 2002.  
 King, Graham and Inge – Melbourne, 24 August 1999.  
 Lane, Terrence – Melbourne, 23 June 2000.  
 Macmillan, Cleo – telephone, 1 September 2004.  
 Manion, Professor Margaret – Melbourne, 9 December 2003.  
 McPherson, The Reverend Canon Albert – Melbourne, 17 September 2002.  
 Miller, Ronald – telephone, 16 September 2000.  
 Mollison, James – Melbourne, 9 September 1999.  
 Murdoch, Dame Elisabeth – Langwarrin, October, 1999.  
 Murphy, Bernice – Canberra, December 2003.  
 O'Brien, Laurie – telephone, August 2004.  
 Parr, Lenton – Melbourne, 17 May 2001.  
 Philipp, Dr June – Melbourne, September 2001, 22 May 2003, 24 June 2003.  
 Plant, Professor Margaret – Melbourne, 12 March 2003.  
 Poynter, Professor John – Melbourne, March 2003.  
 Rich, Margaret – Ballarat, 27 October 1999.  
 Ritchie, Frank – Ballarat, 11 August 2001.  
 Robertson, Bryan – London, 13 May 2002.  
 Sievers, Wolfgang – Melbourne, 2 May 2004.  
 Smith, Professor Bernard – Melbourne, 26 September 2000, 7 June 2001, 14 June 2001, 23 April 2003.

Smith, Professor F. B. – Canberra, October 2002.  
 Stewart, June – Melbourne, 17 May 2001, 21 June 2001, 27 April 2003.  
 Stones, Margaret – London, 13 July 1999.  
 Stringer, John – Melbourne, 4 October 2000.  
 Thomas, David – telephone, 30 August 2004.  
 Thomson, Gordon – Melbourne, 20 July 2001, 2 September 2003, 12 July 2004,  
 Thomson, Gordon – telephone, 12 November 2004.  
 Tomory, Professor Peter – Poole, England, 25 June 2002.  
 Trapp, Professor Joe – London, 15 May 2002.  
 Ullin, Albert – Melbourne, 10 December 2002.  
 Ullin, Claude – Melbourne, 27 November 2002.  
 Upton, Ron – telephone, 26 July 2000.  
 Werder, Felix – Melbourne, September 2001.  
 Westbrook, Eric – telephone, 28 March 2000, 19 February 2002, 8 April 2002.  
 Whelan, Terry – Melbourne, 11 June 2003.  
 Zdanowicz, Irena – Melbourne, October 1999.  
 Zubans, Ruth – telephone, August 2004.

#### Other interviews

Burke, Sir Joseph – interviewed by James Mellon, 25 January 1989, State Library of Victoria, Oral History Collection.  
 Burke, Sir Joseph – interviewed by Anthea Burke, 1989, private collection of Rickard Burke.  
 Hoff, Dr Ursula – interviewed by Amy McGrath, 9 July 1981, National Library of Australia, Oral History Collection.  
 Hoff, Dr Ursula – interviewed by James Mellon, 1989, State Library of Victoria, Oral History Collection.  
 Hoff, Dr Ursula – interviewed by Richard Haese, 1975, State Library of Victoria, Oral History Collection.  
 Westbrook, Eric – interviewed by Hazel De Berg, 14 August 1962, National Library of Australia, Oral History Collection.

#### PUBLISHED WORKS

Annan, Noel, *Our age: portrait of a generation*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1990.  
 Attlee, C.R., *As It Happened*, London, William Heinemann, 1954.  
 Badger, Colin Robert, *Who was Badger? Aspects of the life and work of Colin Robert Badger, director of adult education, Victoria, 1947–71*, Melbourne, CAE, 1984.  
 Bartlett, Norman, 'The necessity of the little magazine: 1 - the Australian scene', *Meanjin*, vii (no. 2, Winter 1948), 108–117.  
 Berger, John, 'London exhibition of Australian art', *Meanjin*, xii (no. 3, Spring 1953), 276–8.

- Bing, Gertrude, 'The Warburg Institute', *Library Association Record*, [copy printed for private circulation] London, 1935.
- Burdett, Basil, 'Modern art in Melbourne', *Art in Australia*, (November 1938), 12–23.
- Burke, Janine (ed.), *Dear Sun: the letters of Joy Hester and Sunday Reed*, Melbourne, Minerva, 1997.
- Burke, Joseph (ed.), *William Hogarth: The Analysis of Beauty, with the rejected passages from the manuscripts, drafts and autobiographical notes*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Burke, Joseph, 'A classical aspect of Hogarth's theory of art' in Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (eds), *England and the Mediterranean tradition: studies in art, history and literature*, London, Oxford University Press, 1945, 139–41.
- Burke, Joseph, 'The age of reason: the George Adlington Syme oration', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery*, xix (no. 1, August 1949), 5–9.
- Burke, Joseph, 'The George Adlington Syme Oration: the age of reason', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery*, xix (no. 1, 1949).
- Burke, Joseph, 'The fine arts and the Australian universities', *Vestes*, vi (no. 4, December 1963), 259–66.
- Burke, Joseph, 'The post-war years in Australian art: some lessons for the future', The Sixth Sir William Dobell Memorial Lecture, Sydney, The Sir William Dobell Art Foundation, 1982.
- Burke, Joseph, *English art, 1714–1800*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Burke, Joseph, *Hogarth and Reynolds: a contrast in English art theory*, The William Henry Charlton Memorial Lecture, November 1941, London, Oxford University Press, 1943.
- Burke, Joseph, *Hogarth and Reynolds: a contrast in English art theory*, The William Henry Charlton Memorial Lecture, November 1941, London, Oxford University Press, 1943.
- Catalogue of the Keith Murdoch collection of antiques*, March 1953, Melbourne.
- Clark, Kenneth, *Another part of the wood: a self-portrait*, London, John Murray, 1974.
- Clark, Kenneth, *Provincialism*, Presidential Address, The English Association, London, 1962.
- Clark, Kenneth, *The other half: a self-portrait*, London, John Murray, 1977.
- Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, *Exhibition of fine arts; by C.R.T.S. trainees in art* [1948].
- Dobell, William, 'Australian painters look to Europe', *Art in Australia*, (February 1940), 23–5.
- Exhibition of French and British contemporary art*, October 1939, Melbourne, Herald & Weekly Times, 1939.
- Eliot, T.S., *Notes towards the definition of culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, Faber, 1962.
- French painting today: a loan exhibition arranged between the French and Australian governments, January–September 1953*, exhibition catalogue [with a number of undated, unidentified newscuttings affixed].
- Gibson, A. Boyce, 'Existentialism: an interim report', *Meanjin*, vii (no. 1, Autumn 1948), 41–52.
- Gill, Eric, *In a strange land*, London, Jonathon Cape, 1944.

- Gombrich, E. H., *Meditations on a hobby horse and other essays on the theory of art*, London, Phaidon, 1963.
- Green, Candida Lycett, *John Betjeman: Letters*, London, Methuen, 1994.
- Grenfell Price, A., *The humanities in Australia*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1959.
- Harris, Max, *The angry eye*, Sydney, Pergamon, 1973.
- Herald Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art*, October 1939.
- Hoff, Ursula (ed.), *Masterpieces of the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne, F. W. Cheshire, 1949.
- Hoff, Ursula and Margaret Plant, *National Gallery of Victoria: painting, drawing, sculpture*, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1968.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'A.J.L. McDonnell as adviser to the Felton Bequest and its purchasing policy during the post-war period', *Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, vi (1964), 2-7.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Albrecht Durer: the Barlow collection of prints in the National Gallery of Victoria', *Meanjin*, xvi (no. 2, Winter 1957), 162-8.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Content and form in modern art', *Meanjin*, xii (no. 4, Summer 1953), 449-50.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Elitism and the arts: how to widen the elite', *Art and Australia*, xv (no. 1, September 1977), 73-6.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'In memory of Franz Philipp', *Art bulletin of Victoria*, xii (1970-71).
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Meditation in solitude', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i, (1937-38), pp. 292-294.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Peter Paul Rubens', *Old Master Drawings*, xiii, (June 1938), 14-16.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Portraits acquired under the Everard Studley Miller Bequest', *Annual bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, ii (1960), 15-20.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Reflections on the Heidelberg School', *Meanjin*, x (no. 2, Winter 1951), 125-33.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'The Everard Studley Miller Bequest' in Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith (eds), *Australian art and architecture: essays presented to Bernard Smith*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, 150-60.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'The art of Jean Bellette', *Meanjin*, xi (Summer 1952, no. 4), pp. 358-60.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'The paintings of Arthur Boyd', *Meanjin*, xvii, (1958, no. 2), 143-7.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'The phases of McCubbin's art', *Meanjin*, xv (Spring 1956, no. 3), 301-6.
- Hoff, Ursula, 'Tobit burying the dead', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, xii (1970-71), 19-20.
- Hoff, Ursula, *Art Appreciation*, Melbourne, Australian Army Education Services, 1945.
- Hoff, Ursula, *Charles I, patron of artists*, London, Collins, 1942.
- Hoff, Ursula, *European painting and sculpture before 1800*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1973.
- Hoff, Ursula, *The art of Arthur Boyd*, London, André Deutsch, 1986.
- Hoff, Ursula, *William Blake's illustrations to Dante's Divine Comedy*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1961.
- Irom, Berta, 'Where are the European writers?', *Meanjin Papers*, iv (no. 2, Winter 1945), 124-6.
- Katalog der alten meister, der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Hamburg, 1956.

- Keith Murdoch, *journalist*, Melbourne, Herald and Weekly Times, 1952.
- Kershaw, Alister, *Hey days: memories and glimpses of Melbourne's Bohemia, 1937-1947*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1991.
- Koestler, Arthur, *Arrow in the blue*, London, Hutchinson, 1969.
- Koestler, Arthur, 'The intelligentsia', *Meanjin Papers*, iv (no. 1, Autumn 1945), 39-50.
- Kokoschka, Oskar, *My life*, trans. by David Britt, London, Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- Lafitte, F. *The internment of aliens*, London, Penguin, 1940.
- Lawlor, Adrian, *Arquebus*, Melbourne, Ruskin Press, 1937.
- Lindsay, Daryl, *The leafy tree*, Melbourne, F.W.Cheshire, 1965.
- Lindsay, Lionel, *Addled art*, London, Hollis and Carter, 1946.
- MacDonald, James S., *Australian painting desiderata*, Melbourne, Lothian Publishing Company, 1958.
- MacGeorge, Norman, *The arts in Australia*, Melbourne, 1948.
- Mann, Thomas, *Doctor Faustus*, trans. by H. T. Lowe-Porter, London, Penguin, in association with Secker and Warburg, 1968.
- Mann, Thomas, *This War*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1940.
- Marquis, Frederick, earl of Woolton, *The memoirs of the Rt. Hon. the earl of Woolton*, London, Cassell, 1959.
- McCaughy, Patrick, *The bright shapes and the true names: a memoir*, Melbourne, Text, 2003.
- McCulloch, Alan, 'Migrant artists in Australia', *Meanjin*, (no. 4, December 1955), 511-16.
- Medley, G.D., 'A chair of fine arts', in *Society of artists book, 1945-46*, Sydney, Ure Smith, 1946, 42.
- Nibbi, Gino, 'Ideas behind contemporary art', *Art in Australia* (August 1939), 16-26.
- Nicholson, Harold, *Diaries and Letters, 1939-45*, edited by Nigel Nicholson, London, Collins, 1967.
- Nolan, Cynthia, *Open negative: an American memoir*, London, Macmillan, 1967.
- Palmer, Nettie, *Her private journal Fourteen years, poems, reviews and literary essays*, edited by Vivian Smith, Brisbane, Queensland University Press, 1988.
- Palmer, Vance, 'Battle', *Meanjin Papers*, i (no 8, March 1942), 5-6.
- Panofsky, Erwin, *Meaning in the visual arts*, London, Penguin, 1970.
- Panofsky, Erwin, *The life and art of Albrecht Dürer*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955.
- Penrose, Roland, *Scrap book, 1900-1981*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1981.
- Penton, Brian, *Advance Australia—where?*, Sydney, Cassells, 1943.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, *Academies of art past and present* (1940), New York, Da Capo Press, 1973.
- Philipp, Franz, 'Antipodeans aweigh', *Nation*, 29 August 1959.
- Philipp, Franz, 'On three paintings by Arthur Boyd', *Present opinion* (no. 1, 1947), 9-14.
- Philipp, Franz, 'Romanesque art', University of Melbourne Matriculation Art series, [1953], [copy in NGA/JMP].
- Philipp, Franz, 'Some notes on the study of history of art', *Present opinion*, iii (no. 1, 1948).

- Philipp, Franz, 'Vasari and the renaissance', *Melbourne historical journal*, ii, (1962), 24-34.
- Philipp, Franz, *Arthur Boyd*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1967.
- Porter, Hal, *The paper chase*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1966.
- Preston, Harley, *Fine prints from private collections*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, [1966].
- Read, Herbert, *To hell with culture*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Reid, Barrett and Nancy Underhill (eds), *Letters of John Reed: defining Australian cultural life, 1920-1981*, Melbourne, Viking, 2001.
- Reimer, Andrew, *Inside outside: life between two worlds*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1992.
- Robertson, Bryan, *'45-99: a personal view of British painting and sculpture*, Cambridge, Kettle's Yard, 2000.
- Ruskin, John, *Stones of Venice*, London, Dent, 1907.
- Saxl, Fritz, *Rembrandt's sacrifice of Manoah*, London, Warburg Institute, 1939.
- Schapiro, Meyer, 'The new Viennese school: review article', *The art bulletin*, xviii (no. 2, June 1936), 258-66.
- Smith, Bernard, 'Notes on elitism and the arts', *Meanjin*, xxxiv (no. 2, June 1975), 117-20.
- Smith, Bernard, 'The art museum today', *Meanjin papers*, v (1946), 129-32.
- Smith, Bernard, 'The art of Sali Herman', *Meanjin*, vii (no. 3, Spring 1948), 172ff.
- Smith, Bernard, 'The French Art Exhibition', *Meanjin*, xii (no. 2, Winter 1953), 165-74.
- Smith, Bernard, *A pavane for another time*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 2002.
- Smith, Bernard, *The boy Adeodatus: the portrait of a lucky young bastard*, Melbourne, Penguin Books, 1985.
- [Smith, Bernard], *Art in the country*, Sydney, National Art Gallery of New South Wales, [1946].
- Surrealism: catalogue, International Surrealist Exhibition*, London, 1936 [copy in Tate Gallery Archive].
- Sydney Nolan*, exhibition catalogue, London, the Redfern Gallery, May 1955.
- Trevelyan, Julian, *Indigo days: the art and memoirs of Julian Trevelyan* (1957), Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1996.
- Turnbull, Clive, *Art here*, Melbourne, The Hawthorn Press, 1947.
- University Women's College Annual Report*, August 1944.
- Ure Smith, Sydney and Joseph Burke (eds), *Art and Design 1*, Sydney, Ure Smith, 1949.
- Ure Smith, Sydney, *Art of Australia, 1788-1941*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1941.
- Waten, Judah, *Scenes of revolutionary life*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1982.
- Wells, H. G., *The fate of homo sapiens: an unemotional statement of the things that are happening to him now, and of the immediate possibilities confronting him*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1939.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### PUBLISHED WORKS

- 'Profile: Sir Karl Parker', *Apollo*, lxxvi (no. 8, October 1962), 625-6.
- 1956 Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria exhibition catalogue, 2000.
- Abbey, William, Charmain Brinson, Richard Dove, Marion Malet and Jennifer Taylor (eds), *Between two languages: German-speaking exiles in Great Britain, 1933-45*, Stuttgart, H.-D. Heinz, 1995.
- Aby Warburg: the renewal of pagan antiquity - contributions to the cultural history of the European renaissance*, Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute Publications Programs, 1999.
- Adam, Peter, *Art of the Third Reich*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1992.
- Agnew's, 1817-1967, London, The Bradbury Agnew Press, 1967.
- Alloway, Lawrence, *The Venice Biennale, 1895-1968: from salon to goldfish bowl*, London, Faber, 1969.
- Altshuler, Bruce, *The avant-garde in exhibition: new art in the twentieth century*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
- Anderson, Jaynie, 'Art history's history in Melbourne: Franz Philipp in correspondence with Arthur Boyd', *Australian and New Zealand journal of art*, i (no. 2, 2000), 111-29.
- Anderson, Jaynie, 'In homage to Ursula Hoff, on her ninetieth birthday', *Art and Australia*, xxxviii (no. 2, 2000), 250-57.
- Anderson, Mark M., *Hitler's exiles: stories of the flight from Nazi Germany to America*, New York, New Press, 1998.
- Angry Penguins and realist painting in Melbourne in the 1940s*, Exhibition Catalogue, London, South Bank Centre, 1988.
- Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria*, vi (1964).
- Apollo*, 'Profile: Sir Karl Parker', *Apollo*, lxxvii (no. 8, October 1962), 625-6.
- Armstrong, Judith, *The Christensen romance*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1996.
- Arrighi, Michael (ed.), *Italians in Australia: the literary experience*, Wollongong, University of Wollongong, 1991.
- Art Bulletin of Victoria* (no. 28, 1988)
- Ash, Mitchell G and Alfons Söllner, *Forced Migration and scientific change: émigré German-speaking scientists and scholars after 1933*, Washington D.C. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Attwood, Bain (ed.), *Boundaries of the past*, Melbourne, History Institute of Victoria, 1990.
- Ball, Desmond and David Horner, *Breaking the codes: Australia's KGB network*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1998.
- Barr, Alfred H., *Painting and sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art, 1929-1967*, New York, MOMA, 1977.
- Barron, Stephanie (ed.) 'Degenerate art': *the fate of the avant-garde in Nazi Germany*, New York, Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Harry N Abrams, 1991.

- Bartrop, Paul R. and Gabrielle Eisen (eds), *The Dunera affair: a documentary resource book*, Melbourne, The Jewish Museum and Schwartz & Wilkinson, 1990.
- Bell, Philip and Roger Bell, *Implicated, the United States in Australia*, Melbourne, Oxford university Press, 1993.
- Beilharz, Peter, 'Australian civilization and its discontents', *Thesis Eleven*, no. 64, 2001.
- Beilharz, Peter, *Imagining the antipodes: culture, theory and the visual in the work of Bernard Smith*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Bittman, Karl (ed.), *Strauss to Matilda: Viennese in Australia, 1938-1988*, Melbourne, Wenkart Foundation, 1988.
- Blaazer, David, *The popular front and the progressive tradition: socialists, liberals, and the quest for unity, 1884-1939*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Blackman, Barbara, 'The good ship Mora: Melbourne in the fifties', *Meanjin*, lv, (no. 2, 1996), 293-305.
- Blunt, Wilfred, *Cockerall: Sydney Carlyle Cockerall, friend of Ruskin and William Morris and director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1964.
- Blythe, Ronald, *The age of illusion: England in the twenties and thirties, 1919-40*, London, Penguin, 1964.
- Bottomore, Tom, *Elites and society*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, Routledge, 1993.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *The field of cultural production: essays on art and literature*, edited by Randal Johnson, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1993.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Masculine Domination*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2001.
- Bourke, Helen, 'A radical life: Don Watson's Brian Fitzpatrick', *Meanjin*, xxxviii (no. 4, December 1979), 428-36.
- Bowersock, G. W. and T. J. Cornell (eds), *A.D. Momigliano: studies on modern scholarship*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994.
- Boyd, Robin, *Artificial Australia: the Boyer Lectures 1967*, Sydney, Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1967.
- Boyd, Robin, *The Australian ugliness*, Melbourne, Penguin, 1960.
- Bradley, Anthony and Terry Smith (eds), *Australian art and architecture: essays presented to Bernard Smith*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Fay Brauer, 'Hegelian history, Wölfflinean periodization and 'Smithesque modernism'', *Art History*, xxiv (no.3, June 2001), 449-456.
- Bredenkamp, Horst, Michael Diers and Charlotte Schoell-Glass (eds), *Aby Warburg: akten des internationalen symposions, Hamburg 1990*, Hamburg, Universität Hamburg, 1991.
- Brett, Judith, *Robert Menzies' forgotten people*, Sydney, Pan Macmillan, 1992.
- Britain, Ian, 'The living and the deadly: contemporary biography and how to avoid it', *Meridian*, xvi (no. 2, October 1997), 195-204.
- Britain, Ian, *Fabianism and culture: A study in British socialism and the arts, c.1884-1918*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Broderson, Momme, *Walter Benjamin: a biography*, London, Verso, 1996.
- Burchardt, Jacob, *The civilization of the renaissance in Italy*, New York, Mentor Books, 1960.



- Burke, Janine, *Australian gothic: a life of Albert Tucker*, Sydney, Knopf, 2002.
- Burke, Janine, *The heart garden: Sunday Reed and Heide*, Sydney, Knopf, 2004.
- Buruma, Ian, *Voltaire's coconuts or anglomania in Europe*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999.
- Butler, Roger (ed.), *The Europeans: émigré artists in Australia, 1930–1960*, Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, 1997.
- Carter, Miranda, *Anthony Blunt: his lives*, London, Macmillan, 2001.
- Cassirer, Ernst, *The logic of the humanities*, trans. by Clarence Smith Howe, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961.
- Castles, Stephen, Caroline Alcorso, Gaetano Rando, Ellie Vasta (eds), *Italians in Australia: culture and community in a changing society*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1992.
- Chipp, Herschel B., *Theories of modern art*, California, University of California Press, 1968.
- Christesen, C.B. (ed.), *The gallery on Eastern Hill*, Melbourne, Victorian Artists Society, 1970.
- Churcher, Betty, 'Gertrude Langer', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no. 4, 1993), 514–15.
- Clark, Jon, Margot Heinemann, David Margolies and Carole Snee (eds), *Culture and crisis in Britain in the 30s*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1979.
- Coleman, Peter (ed.), *Australian civilization*, Melbourne, F. W. Cheshire, 1962.
- Cox, Leonard B., *The National Gallery of Victoria, 1861–1968: in search of a collection*, Melbourne, The National Gallery of Victoria, [1970].
- Craig, Gordan A., *The Germans*, London, Penguin, 1982.
- Crawford, R.M., *Australia*, London, Hutchinson, 1965.
- Crow, Thomas, *The rise of the sixties*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1996.
- Curthoys, Ann and John Merritt, (eds), *Better dead than red: Australia's first cold war, 1945–1959*, ii, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1986.
- Darian-Smith, Kate, 'Sexualising public spaces: wartime visions and the city', *Australian Studies*, no. 9 (November 1995), 19–34.
- Darian-Smith, Kate, *On the home front: Melbourne in Wartime, 1939–1945*, Oxford, Oxford, 1990.
- Day, David, *John Curtin: a life*, Australia, Harper and Collins, 1999.
- Day, Gary (ed.) *Literature and culture in modern Britain, volume two: 1930–1955*, London, Longman, 1997.
- Debord, Guy, *Society of the spectacle*, Detroit, Black and Red, 1983.
- Denning, Michael, *The cultural front*, London, Verso, 1997.
- Dessaix, Robert (ed), *Speaking their minds: intellectuals and the public culture in Australia*, Sydney, ABC Books, 1998.
- Dixon, Christine & Dinah Dysart, *Counter claims: presenting Australian art, 1938–1941*, Exhibition Catalogue, S.H. Ervin Gallery, National Trust of Australia, 1986.
- Dobrez, Patricia, *The art of the Boyds: generations of artistic achievement*, Sydney, Bay Books, 1990.
- Docker, John, *Australian cultural elites: intellectual traditions in Sydney and Melbourne*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1974.

- Dossi, Barbara, *Albertina: the history of the collection and its masterpieces*, Munich, Prestal, 1999.
- Draffin, Nicholas, 'Two masters of the Weimar Bauhaus: Lyonel Feininger and Ludwig Hirshfeld Mack', *Art and Australia*, xii (no. 2, 1974), 136.
- Edquist, Harriet, *Ernest Fooks: Architect*, Melbourne, RMIT University, 2001.
- Edquist, Harriet, *Kurt Popper: From Vienna to Melbourne: Architecture, 1939–1975*, RMIT University, 2003.
- Edwards, Geoffrey, *Clifford Last sculpture: a retrospective exhibition*, 23 November 1989–29 January 1990, National Gallery of Victoria, 1989.
- Ellis, David *et al.*, 'Writing biography: a colloquium', *Meridian*, xvi (no. 2, October 1997), 139–62.
- Evans, Richard J., *Death in Hamburg: society and politics in the cholera years, 1830–1910*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Falk, Barbara, *Caught in a snare: Hitler's refugee academics, 1933–1949*, Melbourne, History Department, University of Melbourne, 1998.
- Falk, Barbara, *Personal identity in a multi-cultural Australia*, Melbourne, Australian Council for Educational Research, [c.1974].
- Fermi, Laura, *Illustrious immigrants: the intellectual migration from Europe, 1930–41*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Freedman, Jean R., *Whistling in the dark: memory and culture in wartime London*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1999.
- Gaita, Raimond, *Romulus, my father*, Melbourne, Text, 1998.
- Galbally, Ann and Alison Inglis, *The first collections: The Public Library and the National Gallery of Victoria in the 1850s and 1860s*, Exhibition Catalogue, University of Melbourne Museum of Art, 14 May–15 July 1992.
- Galbally, Ann, *The collections of the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Galitz, Robert and Brita Reimers (eds), *Aby M. Warburg: ekstatische nympe...trauernder Flussgot: Portrait eines Gelehrten*, Hamburg, Dölling und Galitz, 1995.
- Gaston, Robert, 'Erwin Panofsky and the classical tradition', *International journal of the classical tradition*, iv (no. 4, Spring 1998), 613–23.
- Gay, Peter, *Freud, Jews and other Germans: masters and victims in modernist culture*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Gay, Peter, *Weimar culture: the outsider as insider*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- Gilbert, Martin, *Descent into barbarism: a history of the twentieth century, 1933–1951*, London, Harper Collins, 1998.
- Gleeson, James, *William Dobell: a biographical and critical study*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1981.
- Golomstock, Igor, *Totalitarian art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China*, London, Collins Harvill, 1990.
- Gombrich, E. H., *Aby Warburg: an intellectual biography*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1970.
- Gombrich, E. H., *Tributes: interpreters of our cultural tradition*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1984.

- Gordon, D.J. (ed.), *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948: a volume of memorial essays from his friends in England*, London, Thomas Nelson, 1957.
- Grishin, Sasha, *The Art of John Brack*, Vol. I & II, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Guilbaut, Serge, *How New York stole the idea of modern art: abstract expressionism, freedom, and the cold war*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Haese, Richard, *Rebels and precursors: the revolutionary years of Australian art*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Melbourne, Penguin, 1988.
- Halliday, Nigel Vaux, *More than a bookshop: Zwemmer's and art in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*, London, Philip Wilson Publishers, 1991.
- Head, Brian and James Walter (eds), *Intellectual movements and Australian society*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Heathcote, Christopher, *A quiet revolution: the rise of Australian art, 1946–1968*, Melbourne, Text, 1995.
- Heckscher, William S., 'Ist das alles?', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, no. 28 (1987), 9–15.
- Heckscher, William S., 'Words in memory of H.W. Janson', *College Art Association of America newsletter supplement*, (1982), 2–3 [copy held in WIA].
- Heckscher, William S., *Art and literature: studies in relationship*, edited by Egon Verheyen, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1985.
- Heilbut, Anthony, *Exiled in paradise: German refugee artists in America from the 1930s to the Present*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997.
- Helmer, June, *George Bell: the art of influence*, Melbourne, Greenhouse Publications, 1985.
- Hirschfeld, Gerhard (ed), *Exile in Great Britain: refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa, Berg, 1984.
- Hirschfeld-Mack, Ludvig, *The Bauhaus: an introductory survey*, Melbourne, Longmans Green, 1963.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, *Age of extremes: the short twentieth century, 1914–1991*, London, Abacus, 1995.
- Holly, Michael Ann, 'Mourning and method', *The Art Bulletin*, lxxxiv (no. 4, December 2002), 660–69.
- Holly, Michael Ann, *Panofsky and the foundations of art history*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Holly, Michael Ann, *Past looking: historical imagination and the rhetoric of the image*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Jackman, Jarrell C. and Carla M. Borden (eds), *The muses flee Hitler: cultural transfer and adaption, 1930–1945*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.
- James Michael Weiss, 'The harvest of German humanism: Melchior Adam's collective biographies as cultural history' in Manfred P. Fleischer (ed.), *The harvest of humanism in central Europe: essays in honor of Lewis W. Spitz*, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1992, 341–50.
- Jappe, Anselm, *Guy Debord*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1999.
- Jay, Martin, *Cultural semantics: key words of our time*, London, Althone, 1998.
- Johnson, Lesley, *The cultural critics: from Matthew Arnold to Raymond Williams*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.

- Jupp, James, 'The ethnic composition of Australian elites' in *The encyclopedia of the Australian people*, Canberra, Research School of Social Sciences, 1988.
- Jupp, James, *Arrivals and Departures*, Melbourne, Cheshire-Lansdowne, 1966.
- Kearney, Richard, *States of mind: dialogues with contemporary thinkers on the European mind*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Kelly, Alfred, *The descent of Darwin: the popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860-1914*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1981.
- Kermode, Frank, 'The artist in war and peace', *Meanjin quarterly*, xi (no. 2, 1946) 123-28.
- Kristeva, Julia, *Nations without nationalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Kristeva, Julia, *Strangers to ourselves*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez, New York, Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Laing, Dave, *The Marxist theory of art*, Hassocks, Harvester, 1978.
- Larson, Egon, *Weimar eye witness*, London, Bachman and Turner, 1976.
- Lavin, Irving (ed.), *Erwin Panofsky: Three essays on style*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1995.
- Lavin, Irving, *Meaning in the visual arts: views from the outside - a centennial commemoration of Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968)*, Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study, 1995.
- Lindsay, Jack, 'The alienated Australian intellectual', *Meanjin quarterly*, xxii (no. 1, 1963), 48-59.
- Lipton, David R., *Ernst Cassirer: the dilemma of a liberal intellectual in Germany, 1914-1933*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Lloyd, Andrea, 'The Mary Cecil Allen story', *Meanjin*, lv (no. 3, 1996), 480-86.
- Lowell Field, G and John Higley, *Elitism*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- MacIntyre, Stuart and Peter McPhee (eds), *Max Crawford's School of History*, Melbourne, History Department, University of Melbourne, 2000.
- Mary Alice Evatt: *Mas, 1898-1973*, Exhibition Catalogue, Bathurst Regional Gallery, 2002.
- Max und Erwin Fabian: Berlin-London-Melbourne*, Exhibition Catalogue, Berlin, Stiftung Stadtmuseum, 2000.
- Maxtone Graham, Ysenda, *The real Mrs Minerva*, London, John Murray, 2001.
- McCaughey, Patrick, 'Franz Philipp: a tribute', *Art and Australia*, viii (no. 3, 1970), 218.
- McCulloch, Alan, *Encyclopedia of Australian art*, 2 v., Melbourne, Hutchinson, 1984.
- McEwan, Dorothea, 'The tale of one institute and two cities: the Warburg Institute' in Ian Wallace (ed.) *German-speaking Exiles in Great Britain*, The Yearbook of the Research for German and Austrian Exile Studies, i (1999)
- McLaine, Ian, *Ministry of morale: home front morale and the ministry of information in world war II*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1979.
- McPhee, Ian, 'Arthur Dale Trendall, 1909-1995', *1997 Lectures and Memoirs: Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1998.
- McQueen, 'Jimmy's brief lives' in Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith (eds), *Australian art and architecture: essays presented to Bernard Smith*, Melbourne, OUP, 1980, 177-82.

- McQueen, Humphrey, *Suburbs of the sacred: transforming Australian beliefs and values*, Penguin, 1988.
- McQueen, Humphrey, *The black swan of trespass: the emergence of modernist painting in Australia to 1944*, Sydney, Alternative Publishing Cooperative Limited, 1979.
- Melbourne, University of, *Catalogue of works of art in the University and its affiliated colleges with a catalogue of the collection in the Department of Classical Studies*, 1971.
- Mendelssohn, Joanna, *Lionel Lindsay: an artist and his family*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1988.
- Merrillees, R. S., *Professor A. D. Trendall and his band of classical cryptographers*, Canberra, Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, 1999.
- Micale, Mark S. and Robert L. Dietle (eds), *Enlightenment, passion, modernity: historical essays in European thought and culture*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Mollison, James and Nicholas Bonham, *Albert Tucker*, Melbourne, Macmillan and the Australian National Gallery, 1982.
- Mosse, W. E., *The German-Jewish economic elite, 1820–1935*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Mowl, Timothy, *Stylistic cold wars: Betjeman versus Pevsner*, London, John Murray, 2000.
- Murphy, John and Judith Smart (eds), *The Forgotten fifties: aspects of Australian society and culture in the 1950s*, (no 109 of *Australian Historical Studies*, October 1997), Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1997.
- Murray, Peter and Linda, *A Dictionary of Art and Artists*, Penguin Books, 1975.
- Neubauer, Hendrick and Torsten Palmér (eds), *The Weimar Republic through the lens of the press*, Cologne, Köneman, 2000.
- Niall, Brenda, *Martin Boyd: a life*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1988.
- O'Grady, Desmond, *Corregio Jones and the runaways*, Melbourne, Carlton Street Publishers, 1995.
- Osterwold, Tilman and Thomas Knubben (eds), *Emil Nolde: unpainted pictures*, Germany, Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2000.
- Otto Kurz: Selected Studies, Vol. II*, London, The Pindar Press, 1982.
- Pagliari, Antonio, 'Gino Nibbi: il volto dell'emigrante', unpublished manuscript.
- Palmer, Sheridan, *All this I knew: Helen Ogilvie*, Exhibition Catalogue, Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, 1995.
- Paolucci, Henry, *Hegel: on the arts*, New York, Frederick Ungar, 1979.
- Pearl, Cyril, *The Dunera scandal: deported by mistake*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1983.
- Philipp, Franz and June Steward (eds), *In honour of Daryl Lindsay: essays and studies*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Plant, Simon (ed.), *1956 Melbourne: modernity and the XVI Olympiad*, Museum of Modern Art, Heide, exhibition catalogue, Melbourne, 1996.
- Podro, Michael, *The critical historians of art*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1982.
- Poynter, John, *Mr Felton's Bequest*, Melbourne, Miegunyah Press, 2003.

- Price, Charles A., *Jewish settlers in Australia*, Canberra, Australian National University, 1964.
- Reed, John, 'Danila Vassilieff: Cossack and artist', *Art and Australia*, iv (no. 2, 1966), 113-19.
- Reed, John, 'Danila Vassilieff', *Broadsheet*, CAS, 1959.
- Reid, Barrett, 'Making it new in Australia': *angry penguins and realist painting in Melbourne in the 1940s*, Exhibition Catalogue, London, South Bank Centre, 1988.
- Richter, Gerhard, *Walter Benjamin and the corpus of autobiography*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2000.
- Ringer, Fritz K., *The decline of the German mandarins: the German academic community, 1890-1933*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Rosenberg, John D., *The darkening glass: a portrait of Ruskin's genius*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Rutkoff, Peter M. and William B. Scott, *New School: a history of the New School for Social Research*, New York, The Free Press, 1986.
- Sältzer, Rolf (ed.), *German essays on history*, The German Library: Volume 49, New York, Continuum, 1991.
- Saltzman, Cynthia, *Portrait of Dr Gatchet*, New York, Viking Penguin, 1998.
- Sandler, Irving and Amy Newton (eds), *Defining modern art: selected writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.* New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1986.
- Saunders, David, 'Victorian Arts Centre: gallery building', *Art and Australia*, vi (no. 3, 1968), 201-205.
- Schiff, Gert (ed.), *German essays on art history*, New York, Continuum, 1988.
- Schilpp, Paul A. (ed.), *The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer*, The Library of Living Philosophers, Vol. VI, Evanston, Ill., 1949.
- Serle, Geoffrey, *Percival Serle: a memoir*, Canberra, Brindabella Press, 1988.
- Serle, Geoffrey, *Robin Boyd, a life*, Melbourne, Miegunyah Press, 1995.
- Serle, Geoffrey, *Sir John Medley: a memoir*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1993.
- Shanes, Eric, *Constantin Brancusi*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1989.
- Shmith, Michael and David Colville (eds), *Musica Viva Australia: the first fifty years*, Pymble, NSW, Playbill Publication, 1996.
- Silvester, David, *About modern art: critical essays, 1948-97*, London, Pimlico, 1997.
- Simons, Patricia, 'A profile portrait of a renaissance woman in the National Gallery of Victoria', *Art bulletin of Victoria* (no. 28, 1987), 35-52.
- Smith, Bernard (ed.), *Concerning contemporary art: the Power Lectures, 1968-1973*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1975.
- Smith, Bernard (ed.), *Culture and history: essays presented to Jack Lindsay*, Sydney, Hale & Ironmonger, 1984.
- Smith, Bernard, *Australian painting*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, 2001.
- Smith, Bernard, *European vision and the south Pacific*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Smith, Bernard, *Noel Counihan: artist and revolutionary*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993.

- Smith, Bernard, *Place, taste and tradition: a study of Australian art since 1788*, 2nd edn, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Snowman, Daniel, *The Hitler emigres: the cultural impact on Britain of refugees from Nazism*, London, Chatto and Windus, 2002.
- Spate, Virginia, 'Franz Philipp', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no. 4, 1993), 516–7.
- Spencer, John and Peter Wright (eds), *The writings of Bernard Smith: bibliography, 1938–1998*, Sydney, Power Publications, 2000.
- St John Moore, Felicity, *Vassilieff and his art*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Stafford, Barbara, *Visual analogy: consciousness as the art of connecting*, Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1999.
- Steiner, George, *In Bluebeard's castle*, London, Faber & Faber, 1971.
- Steiner, George, *Real Presences*, London, Faber & Faber, 1989.
- Stern, Fritz, *Einstein's German world*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Stewart, June M., *Bibliographical essay on art historical studies since 1958*, Sydney, Sydney University Press for the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1974.
- Stromberg, Roland N., *European intellectual history since 1789*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn, New Jersey, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1986.
- The dictionary of art*, edited by Jane Turner, New York, Macmillan, 1996.
- Thomas, Daniel, 'Creative displacements', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no. 4, 1993), 481–7.
- Thomas, Daniel, 'Hirschfeld-Mack', *Art and Australia*, xxx (no. 4, 1993).
- Thompson, John, 'British roots, Australian fruits', *Meanjin*, lxiii (no. 3, 2004), 85–93.
- Thompson, Paul, *The voice of the past*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Tibbits, George, 'Nikolaus Pevsner and Melbourne: a 1930s resettlement scheme at the University of Melbourne for academics fleeing Nazi Germany', *The journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, xiii, (November 1996), 500–508.
- Tietze, Hans, *Treasures of the great national galleries*, London, Phaidon Press, 1955.
- Timms, Edward, 'Peter Altenberg: authenticity or pose' in G.J. Carr and Eda Sagarra (eds), *Fin de siecle Vienna: proceedings of the Second Irish Symposium in Austrian Studies held at Trinity College, Dublin, 28 February–2 March 1985*, Dublin, Trinity College, 1985, 126.
- Trimble, Judith, *Inge King sculptor*, Sydney, Craftsman House, 1996.
- Underhill, Nancy, *Making Australian art, 1916–49: Sydney Ure Smith, patron and publisher*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Waissenberger, Robert (ed.), *Vienna, 1890–1920*, New York, Tabard Press, 1984.
- Walker, David, *Dream and disillusion: a search for Australian cultural identity*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1976.
- Watson, Don, *Brian Fitzpatrick: a radical life*, Sydney, Hale & Ironmonger, 1979.
- Wendland, Ulrike, 'Arkadien in Hamburg: studierende und lehrende am kunsthistorischen seminar der Hamburgischen Universität' in Bruno Reudenbach (ed), *Erwin Panofsky: beitrage des symposiums Hamburg 1992*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1994, translation for the author by Kate Hairsine.
- White, Patrick, *The aunt's story*, London, Penguin, 1963.
- White, Richard, *Inventing Australia: images and identity, 1688–1980*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1981.

- Who's who in art*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, London, the Art Trade Press, 1954.
- Williams, John F., *The quarantined culture: Australian reactions to modernism, 1913–1939*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Wind, Edgar, *Art and Anarchy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, London, Duckworth, 1985.
- Wind, Edgar, *The eloquence of symbols: studies in humanist art*, edited by Jaynie Anderson, Oxford, Clarendon, 1983.
- Winks, Robin W., *Cloak and gown: scholars in the secret war, 1939–1961*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987.
- Wood, Christopher S. (ed.), *The Vienna school reader: politics and art historical method in the 1930s*, New York, Zone Books, 2000.
- Wood, Paul, Francis Francina, Jonathan Harris, Charles Harrison (eds), *Modernism in dispute: art since the forties*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993.
- Woodfield, Richard (ed.), *Art history as cultural history: Warburg's projects*, Amsterdam, G+B Arts International, 2001.
- Woodfield, Richard (ed.), *Gombrich on art and psychology*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Wyden, Peter, *Stella: one woman's true tale of evil, betrayal and survival in Hitler's Germany*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1992.
- Yosl Bergner: a retrospective exhibition*, Banyule Gallery, September – December 1985, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1985.
- Younger, R.M., *Keith Murdoch: founder of a media empire*, Sydney, Harper Collins, 2003.
- Zdanowicz, Irena, 'Painting from the inside out: Fred Williams and the European tradition', The Joseph Burke Annual Lecture, 9 June 2004.
- Zweig, Stefan, *The world of yesterday: an autobiography*, London, Cassell, 1944.

## THESES

- Chiba, Kathryn, 'Dr Joseph Brown: dealing in cultural capital', M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1999.
- Clements, Francesca, 'Migrating objects and exiled identities: Leonhard Adam in Melbourne', Postgraduate Diploma of Art thesis, University of Melbourne, 1998.
- Gerraty, Jan, 'Basil Burdett: critic and entrepreneur', B. A. Honours thesis, Monash University, 1978.
- Gill, Meredith J., 'Four Melbourne artists: European influences, 1939–1947', B. A. Honours thesis, University of Melbourne, 1980.
- Palmer Bull, Sheridan, '"A discriminate and prudent judgement": a study of Dr Ursula Hoff', B.A Honours thesis, La Trobe University, 2000.
- Wiemann, Ursula, 'German and Austrian refugees in Melbourne, 1933–1947: a study of their migration, reception and integration in the Melbourne community', M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1965.



## APPENDIX A

### Joseph Burke Archive

Catalogued by Sheridan Palmer, 3 June 2003

This collection of material — exhibition catalogues, invitations, posters, books — was collected by Joseph Burke from the time of his arrival in Australia, in January 1947 until his retirement from the *Herald* Chair of Fine Arts in 1976. As part of his extra mural activities associated with his commitment to Sir Keith Murdoch's *Herald and Weekly Times*, his duty was to take art to the broader community and he felt it important to know what was happening in the world of art outside the National Gallery of Victoria and the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne. This was a system of passive surveillance that provided Burke with the means of keeping himself informed of the type, quality and variety of national, state and international art. It also enabled Burke to keep abreast of contemporary commercial and museological directions.

#### Key

Type: Exh. Cat. / Exh. Inv. / Book / Correspondence

Condition: Good / Fair / Bad

Date

Country

City

Annotated

Value

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Box 1

#### Exhibition Catalogues for Australian / Melbourne Galleries

1. Exh. Cat. "An Exhibition of Present-Day Australian Art"

G. C.

Feb. 13-27, 1945, Lower Town Hall, Melbourne.

Sydney AGNSW. — Organisation. Macquarie Galleries and The Herald and Weekly Times.

Cost: 1 sh. in aid of the Red Cross Prisoners of War Fund.

Slightly annotated.

Valuable

2. Exh. Cat. "The Art of Tom Roberts"

G. C.

June 21 – July 2, 1932, The Fine Arts Society Gallery, 100 Exhibition Street, Melbourne.

Cat. Essay by J. S. McDonald and F. W. Eggleston.

Valuable

3. Exh. Cat. "Exhibition of French and British Contemporary Art"

G. C.

October 16, 1939, Melbourne Town Hall

Paintings and sculpture obtained on loan from public and private collectors and brought to Melbourne by The Herald  
Valuable

4. Auction Cat. "Keith Murdoch Collection of Antiques"

G. C.

March 11, 12, 13, 1953

Valuable

5. Exh. Cat. "Catalogue for the Inaugural Exhibition by the Merioola Group of Sydney"

September 9-23, 197, Myer Mural Hall

[see Roland Strasser. Arthur Fleischmann. Arr. 1938. Peter Kaiser – Dunera]

6. and 7. Exh. Cat. "Victorian Artists' Society, 'Past and Present'"

G. C.

August 1951

8. Exh. Cat. "Albert Tucker – Night Images" (Images of Modern Evil)

G. C.

1943-1947

Sweeney Reed Galleries, 266 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy

9. Melbourne Illustrated. Present Day Views

ca. 1900

10. Exh. Cat. "Australian Aboriginal Art"

G. C.

The Fine Arts Exhibition, 1956 Olympic Games, Melbourne

Important

11. "Australian Aboriginal Art"

12. Exh. Cat. "Tom Roberts"

G. C.

February – March 1948, National Gallery of Victoria

Forward by Lionel Lindsay, 1947

Valuable

13. Exh. Cat. "E. Phillips Fox"

June – July 1947

Important

14. Exh. Cat. "Rebels and Precursors – Aspects of Painting in Melbourne, 1937-47"

National Gallery of Victoria, 1962.

15. Exh. Cat. "Sydney Painting 1952"

F. C.

June 11-21, Macquarie Galleries

Important

16a. Exh. Cat. "Early British Water-Colours"

G. C.

1948-49, Empire Art Loan Exhibitions Society, Australia

16b. G. C.

1948-49

17. "The Australian Women's Weekly Portrait Prize, 1955"  
G. C.

18a. and 18b. "The Australian Women's Weekly Portrait Prize, 1956"

19. "The Australian Women's Weekly Portrait Prize, 1957"

20a and 20b. Exh. Cat. "The Massey Collection of English Painting"  
1949-1950  
circulated in Australia and New Zealand with assistance of the Carnegie Corporation  
Important.

21a, 21b. and 21c. "Jubilee Exhibition of Australian Art"  
G. C.  
1951

22a., 22b., 22c. and 22d. Exh. Cat. "French Painting Today"  
G. C.  
January - September 1953

23. Exh. Cat. "Exhibition of British Water-Colours"  
F. C.  
1952-53, Empire Art Loan Exhibitions Society, Australia and New Zealand

24. Exh. Cat. "Marcel Duchamp / The Mary Sisler Collection, 78 Works, 1904-1963"  
G. C.  
1967-68, Australian State Galleries

25. Exh. Cat. "Antipodeans"  
G. C.  
August 4-15, 1959, MoMA  
Charles Blackman, Arthur Boyd, David Boyd, John Brack, Bob Dickerson, John Perceval, Clifton Pugh,  
Bernard Smith

26. Exh. Cat. "Exhibition of British Contemporary Art"  
1933  
organised by Mrs. Alleyne Zander of Redfern Galleries, Bond Street, London, in conjunction with the  
Victorian Artists' Society and the Society of Artists, NSW  
Valuable

27a. and 27b. "Eleven British Artists"  
G. C.  
1949, The British Council. Australia  
Introduction by A. J. L. McDonnell

28. Exh. Cat. "Two Decades of American Painting"  
G. C.  
June 6 - July 9, 1967, National Gallery of Victoria

29. Exh. Poster. Exh. Of paintings by Charles Blackman  
N. D. The Gallery of Contemporary Art  
Poster includes an original charcoal drawing by Blackman  
Valuable

30. x4 National Trust of Australia (Victoria)  
inaugural launch cat.

## New South Wales

1. Tony Tuckson. AGNSW. 1976
  2. Vaucluse House. N.D.
  3. Chinese Porcelain of the Ming and Ching (?) Dynasties. AGNSW. 1977.
  4. and 4a. Australian Art in the 1870s. AGNSW. 1976
  5. Catalogue of Acquisitions. AGNSW. 1976.
  6. and 6a. Catalogue of Acquisitions. AGNSW. 1975.
  7. Archibald, Wynne and Sulman. 1977
  8. Victorian Social Conscience. AGNSW. 1976.
  9. Archibald, Wynne and Sulman. AGNSW. 1970.
  - 10., 10a. and 10b. Dobell Retrospective. AGNSW. 1964.
  11. Contemporary French Tapestry. 1956.
  12. Chinese Painting. ca. 1949.
  13. Etchings of Rembrandt. AGNSW. 1948.
  14. Illustrated Souvenir of AGNSW. ca. 1949-50.
  15. Lawson Auction Catalogue. 1978
  16. Australian Perspecta. AGNSW. 1981.
  17. Hans Heysen. AGNSW. ca. 1943.
  18. Three Years On. Acquisitions. AGNSW. 1978-81.
  19. The National Gallery Society of NSW. Contemporary Australian Paintings. 1955.
  20. ERVIN. AGNSW. 1955.
  21. Roland Wakelin Retrospective. AGNSW. 1967.
  22. Balson, Crowley, Fizelle, Hinder. AGNSW. 1966.
  23. Turner. AGNSW. 1960.
  24. Melanesian Art. AGNSW. 1966.
  25. Desiderius Orban. AGNSW. 1975.
  26. Archibald, Wynne and Sulman. AGNSW. 1975.
  27. Archibald, Wynne and Sulman. AGNSW. 1976.
  28. Art in the Country. A National Art Gallery of NSW Publication. 1946.
- Organised by Bernard Smith  
Valuable.
29. Seventh A. R. Sydney University Press. 1971  
annotated cover.
- Initials of Fine Art Dept. Staff for viewing. (J.B., L.C. (Lawrence Course), B. G. (Basil Gilbert), H.T., R.Z. (Ruth Zubans), G. ?, J.H., P.L.)
30. Acquisitions. AGNSW. 1965.
  31. Irvine Homer Retrospective. 1975.
  32. Bibliographical Record of the University of Newcastle. 1975.
  33. Aboriginal and Melanesian Art. AGNSW. 1973.
  34. Australian Pottery. Newcastle Art Gallery. 1970.
  35. Two Masters of the Weimar Bauhaus. Lyonel Feininger and Ludwig Hirschfeld Mack. AGNSW. 1974.
  - 36a. and 36b. David Strachan. AGNSW. 1973.
  37. The Power Survey of Contemporary Art. 1972.
  - 38a. and 38b. Artists by Artists. AGNSW. 1954.
  39. Douglas Deaders (?). AGNSW. 198?
  40. Lloyd Rees Retrospective. 1969-7?
  41. Eight American Artists. 1958.

42. Recent International Art. AGNSW. 1974.
43. Sidney Long Memorial Exhibition. AGNSW. 1955.

Miscellaneous invitations and Bulletins of the AGNSW.

## Queensland

1. Conrad Martens. QAG. 1976.
2. Contemporary Australian Paintings and Sculpture. QAG. 197
3. Acquisitions. QAG. 1960-67
4. H.C. Richards Memorial Prize. QAG. 1967
5. University Art Museum. Ca. 1977
6. University Art Museum. Norman Behan Collection. Ca. 197
7. Aerial Art Exhibition. QAG. 1962.
8. Bibliographical and Documentary Film Record of the University of Queensland. 1974-7
9. Bibliographical and Documentary Film Record of the University of Queensland. 1975-7
10. Ian Fairweather Retrospective. 1965.

## Tasmania

1. Centenary of Buckland Parish. 1946.
  2. Entally (?) National House. 1954.
  3. A Short History of Deloraine (?) ca. 1950.
  4. Lady Franklin Museum. 1949.
  5. Circular Head and its Pioneers. 1952.
- (Reference to 'The Blacks')
6. Van Dieman's Land Journal. 1952.
  7. Richmond. 1953.
  8. Port Arthur Guide. N.D.
  9. Battery Point. 1951.
  10. Battery Point Sketchbook. N.D.
  11. The Theatre Royal. Hobart. Ca. 1948.
  12. This was Hobart. 1945.
  13. Heritage of Stone. 1949.
  14. The Pioneer Church in Van Dieman's Land. 1957
  15. Notable Tasmanian Homes.
  16. Jack Carrington Smith. TMAG. 1976.
  17. The Tasmanian Aboriginal in Art. TMAG. 1976.

## Western Australia

1. Illustrated Catalogue. AGWA. 1929.
2. Landscape into Paint. 1962.
3. The Early Days. AGWA. 1970.

## ACAG – Auckland City and Art Gallery

1. and 1a. Eight NZ artists. N.D.

2. Pablo Picasso. 100 + 2 linocuts. 1967  
This is a follow up exhibition of the 1958 Picasso lithographs – initiated by Peter Tomory And which travelled to the NGV.
3. Three British Painters, Hitchens, Herman and Davie. 1964.  
P. Tomory exh.
4. Contemporary Australian Prints (in association with Crossley Gallery). 1971.
5. Old Master drawings from the Wilt Collection. ACAG. 1960.
- P. Tomory
6. NZ Drawing. 1976.
7. Australian Painting. 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Ca. 1965.  
Introduction by Daryl Lindsay.
8. Catalogue of Painting, Drawing and Sculpture. ACAG. 1964.
9. The 70s.
10. Contemporary Italian Sculpture. 1965-6?  
Directed by Tomory.
11. James Nairn and Edward Fristrom. 1964.
12. Contemporary NZ Painting and Sculpture. 1962.
13. JC Richmond. 1957.
- P. Tomory – new director after Westbrook.
14. A Private Collection of NZ Painting. ACAG. 1958.
15. ACAG Publications. 1967.
16. Retrospective – Woollaston and McCahon. 1963.
17. Print Council of NZ exh. 1969?
18. British Taste in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. ACAG. 1962.
19. Greek Vases in the Logie Collection. 1971.
- University of Canterbury.
- Inscribed to JB warmest regards Dale
20. The Ferrier-Watson Collection. 1970.  
Waikato Art Gallery.
21. Paintings from the Pacific. 1961.
- ACAG.
22. Old Master Paintings from Private and Public Collections of NZ. 1959
- ACAG
23. Six NZ Expatriates. 1962.
- ACAG
24. Epstein. 1961.
- ACAG
25. A Colonial View. 1958.
- ACAG
26. Sixty-nine etchings by Rembrandt. 1958.
27. AR 1957-58. ACAG
28. Morris Louis. Travelling exhibition (inc. NGV) 1971.
29. LOW – Sir David Low. 1967-68.
30. Frances Hodgkins. ACAG. 1959.
- 31a., 31b. and 31c. British Abstract Painting. 1958.
32. Contemporary NZ Painting. ND.
33. Picasso: An Exhibition of Lithographs and Acquatints, 1945-47. 1958.  
Initiated by P. Tomory – travelled to NGV.
34. Miserere – Roualt. ACAG. 1957.
35. Recent NZ Sculpture. 1968.
36. Recent Prints from Britain. ACAG. 196?
37. Paul Wunderlich lithographs. 1949-67. 19?
38. Albrecht Dürer. ACAG. 1961.
39. British Painting. 1969.
40. Recent British Painting. Peter Stuvesant Collection. 19?

41. Recent British Painting. Peter Stuvesant Collection. 1971.
  42. Sculpture in France. 1963.
  43. M.T. Woollaston. 1973.
  44. 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century French Prints. ACAG. 1962.
- Many of these exh. Cats JB sent onto FP, JS, BS
45. Pacific Cities. ACAG. 1971.
  46. Milan (?) Mr Kusich. ACAG. 1972.
  47. Aspects of Australian Painting. 1966.
  48. NZ Painting. 1966.
  49. NZ Print Council Exh. 1969.
  50. 10 Years of NZ Painting. 1958-1962.
  51. NZ Young Contemporaries. 1971.
  52. The Auckland Landscape. 1840-1971.
  53. Modern European Paintings in NZ. ACAG. 1960.
  54. Hap Grieshaber (?) Woodcuts. 1964.
  55. Recent NZ Sculpture. 1966.
  56. Early Watercolours of NZ. ACAG. 1963.
  57. Los Caprichos. ACAG. 1960.
- A loan exhibition from P and D Colnaglus, London, courtesy of Harold Wright
58. Old Master Prints. ACAG. 1960.
  59. Colonial Auckland. ACAG. 1959.
  60. Landmarks in the History of Medicine. ACAG. 1961.
  61. Contemporary Australian Painting. 1957.
  62. 20<sup>th</sup> Century French Painting. ACAG. 1953.
  63. Five NZ Watercolourists. ACAG. 1958.
  64. Eight NZ Painters II. ACAG. 1958-59.
  65. Rowlandson. ACAG.
  66. ACAG Permanent Collection, 20<sup>th</sup> Century Sculpture. 1958.
  67. New Zealand Potter. 1972.
  68. New Zealand Painting. 1965.

## England – Exhibition and Collection Catalogues, Cathedral Guides

1. Coventry Cathedral – pictorial guide. Ca. 1970.
2. The Old Royal Observatory. National Maritime Museum. 19?
3. Ham House. Victoria and Albert Museum Publication. 1950.
4. Fountains Abbey. 1955.
5. Barnard Castle. ND
6. Luton Hoo (Robert Adam House). 1956.
7. Treasurer's House. ND
8. Guide to the Cathedral Church of St Peter in Exeter. ND
9. Lincoln Cathedral. Ca. 1950s
10. Carisbrooke Castle. Ca. 1950s
11. National Monuments Record Report. 1964-65.
12. Blenheim. ND
13. The Abbey and Palace of Holyrood House 1950.
14. Kelmscott. 1969.
15. Folkestone. 1925.
16. Kedleston Hall. ND
17. Chester. Ca. 1950.
18. Lichfield Cathedral.

19. Coventry Cathedral. 1964.
20. Marble Hill House. 1969.
21. Waddesdon Manor. 1959.
22. Kenwood (Robert Adam). Ca. 1922.
23. The National Trust List of Properties. Annotated by JB. 1950.
24. Exh. Cat. The Lunar Society. 1966  
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.
25. Catalogue of the Principal Works of Art at Chequers. 1923.
26. Romanesque Architecture in England. 1950.
27. Ely. Ca. 1950.
28. Ordinance Survey Map. Royal Botanic Gardens. Kew. 1934.
29. Christ Church. Longford. ND
30. Charlote Park.
31. The Christ Church Picture. Oxford. ND
32. Guide to the City of Ely. ND
33. and 34. Exh. Cat. Old Hall Gallery. Sussex. ND
35. The Barber Institute of Fine Arts. Director's Report. University of Birmingham. Thomas Bodkin. 1949.
36. The Barber Institute of Fine Arts. Director's Report. University of Birmingham. E. K. Waterhouse. 1963.
37. List of Pictures at Blenheim Palace. ND.  
Annotated by JB.
38. Exh. Cat. "Resurgam" (on British Architecture)
39. The New Coventry Cathedral. ND
40. Some Dutch Cabinet Pictures of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. 1950.  
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery  
Director: Trenchard Cox
41. Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court. 1929.
42. The Church of St Bartholomew the Great. 1897.  
Annotated by J. B. re Hogarth
43. Catalogue of drawings made for book illustrations
44. Exh. Cat. The Man at Hyde Park Corner (sculpture) 1974
45. The Suffolk Collection. Charlton Park
46. Sulgrave Manor. Ca. 19?
47. Chatsworth
48. Syon House
49. Exh. Cat. Arthur Boyd 'Recent Paintings' 1977.  
Fischer Fine Art
- 50., 50a. and 50b. Contemporary British Prints and Drawings. 1947-48.  
Australia
- British Council - selections from the Wakefield Collection
51. Exhibition of Rural Handcrafts from Great Britain. ND  
Australia
52. Henry Moore. 1947  
Australia
- British Council
53. Recent British Sculpture. 1961-63  
British Council
54. Ham House. 1950
55. The Arts in Coventry Cathedral. ND
56. Works of Art in Germany (British Zone of Occupation). Losses and Survivals in the War. 1946  
London. H.M. Stationary Office. 1946.
- Gift of Prof. Victor. M. Trikojus, Dept. of Biochemistry to JB
- 57., 58. 59. ?(no entries)
60. 24 P & D Colnagis (?) and Co. Catalogues. 1964-1977



well illustrated. Gives an overview of British and European print making, and the availability of fine prints in the 1960s and 1970s.

61. Exh. Cat. Royal Academy of the Arts. 1950-51  
Holbein and other masters of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.
62. Gwen John. 1946  
Art Council of Great Britain
63. Notes and Sketches by Sickert. 1949  
Art Council
64. Exh. Cat. Drawings and Paintings by Augustus John. 1948  
Art Council of Great Britain
65. Society of Mural Painters. 1950  
Arts Council of Great Britain
66. Edward Wadsworth Memorial Exhibition. 1957  
Tate Gallery
67. Claes Oldenburg. 1970  
Tate & MoMA
68. and 69. The National Gallery of British Art. Catalogue. 1911  
Tate Gallery
70. Royal Academy of Portrait Painters. 1955
71. Royal Academy Winter Exhibition. 1964-65
72. NPG – Some Portraits of General Wolfe. 1957
73. The Society's Portraits and Busts. 1967  
U. Hoff's hand writing: "National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne"
74. Churchill Club – Ashburnham House. 1943
75. John Perceval. 1964  
Zwemmer Gallery
76. Dutch Pictures. 1952-53  
Royal Academy of Arts (x2)
77. Iveagh Bequest
78. Exh. Cat. George Lambert. 1970
- ?? Fleet Street's Church Restored. Ca. 1958
- ?? The Wallace Collection, Hertford House. 1967
79. Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood
80. Exh. Cat. Landscape in French Art. 1550-1900. 1949  
Royal Academy of Arts  
Inscribed by JB: "Mr Philipp to see"
81. Exh. Cat. Bonnard. 1947  
Lefevre Gallery
82. Exhibition of Greek Art (x2). 1946  
Royal Academy of Art
83. Exh. Cat. Paintings by Wilson, Poussin, Ruysdael, Rosa. 1951  
JA Tooth's Galleries, London
84. The Royal Hospital at Chelsea. Ca. 1921
85. Exh. Cat. Medieval English Pottery. (x2) 1962-65
86. 19<sup>th</sup> Century English Homes
87. 18<sup>th</sup> Century English Homes
88. The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. 1961
89. Joseph Wright of Derby. 1950  
attached is a letter from JB to Hilda Fletcher, JB's first secretary
90. English landscape gardening of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. 1951  
Arts Council of Great Britain.
91. Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth. 1949  
Arts Council
92. Raphael. ND  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Inscribed: "with best wishes for Christmas, from Jane and Kenneth Clark"

- 93. York Minster. 1951
- 94. York Minster (x2). 1938
- 95. Derby Cathedral. 1953
- 96. Exh. Cat. Old Master Drawings. 1948

Arts Council of Great Britain

- 97. King's College Chapel – some opinions. 1564-1947
- 98. Ely Cathedral. 1952
- 99. Melbourne Hall
- 100. Canterbury Cathedral
- 101. The (170<sup>th</sup>?) Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts. 1938
- 102. An Apology for non-Representational Painting.

Julian Trevelyan

- 103. NPG – Exh. Of Portraits acquired during 1953
- 104. Samuel Courtauld Memorial Exhibition. 1948

Tate Gallery

- 105. Oriental Rugs from the Victoria and Albert Museum
- 106. Exh. Cat. Anthony Caro. 1981
- 107. Exh. Cat. Pompeo Batoni and his British Patrons. 1989
- 108. The Academy Notes – Principal Pictures at Burlington House. 1900  
(of importance as a survey of Victorian art)
- 109. NPG – Portraits of Members of the Kit Cat Club (x2) by Sir Godfrey Kneller
- 110. The Tate Gallery Report. 1953-54

review 1938-53

- 111. The Tate Gallery Report. 1954-55
- 112. 19<sup>th</sup> Century Costume – Victoria and Albert Museum. 1947
- 113. The Royal Effigies, sculpture, and other works of art from Westminster Abbey. 1945

This exhibition was put on at the Victoria and Albert Museum in November 1945 prior to the works being re-installed in the Abbey.

- 114. Leonardo da Vinci. 1952

Royal Academy of Arts Quincentenary Exhibition

- 115. Romanesque Art. 1950

Victoria and Albert Museum

- 116. Catalogue of Pictures and Sculpture in the National Gallery of British Art. 1900
- 117. William Etty. 1955

Art Council of Great Britain

- 118. John Singer Sargeant. 1964

City of Birmingham Art Gallery

## Various pamphlets, guides, etc. of lesser interest

- 119. Illustrated guide to Cambridge. 1952
  - 120. Hampton Court. Illustrated. 1918
  - 121. Exh. Cat. Mexican Art. 1953
- Tate Gallery. Arts Council
- 122. Helen Ogilvie – Australian Country Dwellings. 1963
- Leicester Galleries
- 123. York Courses on Protection and Repair of Historic Houses. 1957
  - 124. Catalogue of Paintings – City of Birmingham Art Gallery. 1930
  - 125. NPG Supplement
  - 126. Architecture in England since Wren. 1948
- The Arts in Britain no. 10. John Summerson
- 127. Paul Klee. 1953
- Penguin Modern Painters

## Ireland

1. Georgian Architecture in Northern Ireland. 1947
  2. In Search of Georgian Calcutta
  3. Thomas Ivory. Architect
  4. Architecture in Ireland. Yearbook. 1951-52
  5. Malahide Castle.
- Annotated in JB's hand
6. Exh. Cat. National Gallery of Ireland ND. Ca. 197

## Scotland

1. The Royal Scottish Academy. 1949
  2. Sickert, 1860-1942. 1953
- Scottish Arts Council, arranged by Lillian Browne
3. Art Collections, University of Glasgow. 1951
  4. various booklets on Scottish Architecture
  5. National Gallery of Scotland Catalogue. 1960
  6. The Future of Edinburgh. City Development Report. 1943
  - 6a. The Royal Mile (?) 1947
  - 6b. The Royal Mile (?) (with maps). 1945
  - 6c. The Heritage of Greater Edinburgh. 1947

## Canada and the United States of America

1. Early Printed Books of the Low Countries.  
Washington  
Inscribed: To JB from Lessing (?) Rosenwald
2. Joseph Blackburn. 1937  
Massachusetts
3. Bernardo Strozzi. 1967  
University Art Gallery. Binghamton, NY
4. Washington Irving and his circle. 1946
5. Younger European Painters. 1957  
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
6. (no entry)
7. Albert Marquet. 1958
8. Dallas Museum of Fine Arts
9. Durer's Cities. 1971  
University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor
10. Henry Edwards Huntington. 1957
- 11-18. (no entries)
19. Master Craftsman. 1971
20. Salem Maritime
21. The Phoenix Art Museum Annual Report. 1966
22. MoMA Annual Report. 1962-63

23. Eighth Arizona Annual. 1966
24. Phoenix Art Museum Annual Report. 1964-65
25. The New York Historical Society Quarterly, volume 35, number 4, October 1954  
inscribed: to JB from TS
26. Catalogue of ..... Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. 1947  
inscribed: to JB from LR, 1966.
27. The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. 1947
28. Robert Freke. (?) 1946
29. Art of the Seaway Nations
30. Marine Corps Combat Artists  
(biographical information on artists)
31. Fulbright Painters. 1958-59  
Smithsonian Institute
32. Catalogue of Canadian Painting. 1936  
National Gallery of Canada
33. Exh. Cat. Science and the New World. 1937  
Huntingdon Library and Art Gallery
34. ELBON. Daniel E. Noble. 1966  
Phoenix Art Museum
35. Salvator Rosa. Catalogue of Etchings and Engravings. 1971  
Ringling Museum of Art, Florida  
Compliments of Peter Tomory who was curator of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art.  
Sarasota, Florida
36. Sixth City of Los Angeles Art Exhibition. 1950
37. Seventh City of Los Angeles Art Exhibition. 1951
38. Exh. Cat. Recent Works. Harpur College. 1971
39. Twenty Contemporary Painters.  
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
40. The Lesia (?) Foundation. San Francisco. 1966
41. Contemporary Turkish Painting. 1971  
University Art Gallery, Binghamton, NY
42. Three Thousand Years of Chinese Art
43. Otis
44. Louis Sullivan. 1956  
Art Institute of Chicago
45. Carnegie Corporation of New York Annual Report. 1980
46. Guide to Chicago and Mid-Western Architecture.
47. Famous Names in Philadelphia. 1963.  
1953 (??)
48. Handbook for the Exhibition Buildings
49. British Artists in Crystal  
annotated in JB's hand
50. Cope (?) Collection, Baltimore Museum of Art. 1955
51. Masterpieces of New England (Silver). 1939  
Yale University Gallery of Fine Arts
- 52a., 52b. and 52c. Connecticut Portraits by Ralph Earl ND
53. Paintings by John Traubill (?). ND  
Yale University Gallery
54. Paintings of the Southwest. 1967  
Phoenix Art Museum
55. Guggenheim International Art Award 197
56. Acquisitions. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1980-81.
57. Patricia Johanson (?) 1978
58. University of Kansas Libraries. Guides to the Collections. 1969
59. Traditional Art of West Africa. 1972

60. The Phoenix Art Museum. Ca 1965
61. Some British Drawings from the Collection of Sir Robert Witt on Loan to the National Gallery of Canada. 1949
62. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. 1945
63. Eskimo Art
64. Arlington – postcards
65. Architectural Record
66. Jefferson and the Public Buildings of Virginia. 19?
67. International Exchange in the Arts. 1955
68. Early Connecticut Silver.
- Yale University Gallery
69. Handbook. The Gallery of Fine Arts. 193?
- School of Fine Arts, Yale University
70. Thirty Five Paintings. 1950
- Los Angeles County Museum
71. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 1947
72. Yale University Annual Report. 1974-75
73. 22 (?) Annual Report Royal Ontario Museum. 1971/??
74. Samuel F. B. Morse, New York. 1932
75. Edwin Austin Abbey. 1939
- Yale University Gallery
76. The Princeton University Library Chronicle. 1950  
inscribed: to JB from TS. Article by Ted Sizer
77. Bulletin. New York Public Library. 1973
78. William Rush. 1937
- Pennsylvania Museum of Art
79. Seven Centuries of Painting. 1939
80. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1948
81. Peabody Museum, Salem.
82. Artists and Photographs. 1975 (?)
83. Art Education and the Creative Process. 1954  
By Archibald MacLeish. Museum of Modern Art

## Miscellaneous

1. The Life of George Cruikshank, volume 1. Chatto and Windus, London, 1882  
inscribed: "Perceval Serle 12/06/27. To Fine Art Dept. 13/04/??, PS
2. (?) No entry)
3. Invitation: The Contemporary Art Society of Australia 1955 Annual Interstate Exhibition.  
Preston Motors, 108 Russell Street
4. Survey of Exhibition Invitations from Peter Bray Galleries, 1949-56.  
(These invitations and catalogues are very important for a comprehensive study of contemporary art in Melbourne.)
5. Exh. Cat. Contemporary Art Society. 1954
6. Primitive Art Exhibition, Melbourne. 1943  
NGV and NMV.
- Catalogue and introduction and cover design by Lemhard Adam
7. Art Education – Geelong CEGS pamphlet
8. Survey 9 (?). Janet Dawson. 1979
- National Gallery of Victoria
9. Contemporary Canadian Painters. 1957
- National Gallery of Victoria
10. Italian Painting 1940-60. 1971-72

## National Gallery of Victoria

11. Sidney Nolan Retrospective, 1937-67 (x2). 1967
12. Ferdinand Leger. 1976
13. Contemporary Printmaking in the United States. 1958

A MoMA exhibition in conjunction with Contemporary Arts Society of Australia. Exhibited in all state cities.

14. Contemporary Japanese Art. 1959

## National Gallery of Victoria

15. Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture by Australian Official War Artists. 1943-44.
16. Exh. Cat. Emmanuel Phillips Fox. ND. Ca 1950?
17. The Hiroshima Panels. (x3) 1959
18. Australian Women Artists Catalogue. (x2) 1976

## National Gallery of Victoria

19. Heroic Landscape. ND. Ca. 1970s

## National Gallery of Victoria

20. Barlach / Kollwitz exh. 1976-78

## National Gallery of Victoria

21. Recent Australian Sculpture. 1964
22. Design in Scandinavia. 196?

## National Gallery of Victoria?

23. Ian Fairweather. 1965

## National Gallery of Victoria

24. Australian Print Survey. 1964

## National Gallery of Victoria

(An important exhibition on the earliest major exhibition of the Australian / international printmaking revival of the 1960s.)

25. The Situation Now. Object or Post-Object Art. 1971

Contemporary Art Society Gallery, Sydney

26. Contemporary Nordic Art. 196?

## National Gallery of Victoria

27. RMT School of Art and Architecture. 195?
28. Australian Landscape Drawing.

## National Gallery of Victoria

## Sydney Exhibition Catalogues and Invitations

1. Paul Haefliger. 1950

MacQuarie Galleries

Annotated by JB: "Hilda [Fletcher] starting from New Year [Jan 1951] please keep a box for all Exh. Catalogues."

2. Overland, number 21. 1961

3. The Situation Now – Object or Post-Object Art. 1971

Contemporary Art Society. Sydney

## Italy

1. 26<sup>th</sup> Biennale di Venezia. 1952

valuable

2. Catalogue of the Royal Brera Gallery, Milan. ND

3. Map of Venezia. 1964/65

- 3a. Venezia. 1964/65
4. Genoa e Rivera. 1959
5. Sienna
6. Ferrara
7. Treviso. 1950
8. Milano. 1976
9. Turner, 1775-1851. 1948

Roma  
valuable

10. La Riviera del Brenta. 1951
  11. Palazzo Ducale di Venezia
  12. The Galleria Spada in Roma. 1933
- valuable
13. The Museums in Florence and Environs. 1976
  14. Museums of Rome. 1974-75
  15. Arrezzo. 1954
  16. Civico Museo Cristiano. 1949
  17. Guida alla Scuola di S. Giorgio. 1951
  18. Galleria Doria Pamphili. 1951
  19. Italy Today. 1962

## Greece

1. Olympic Games and Art in Greece
2. Maps

## Spain

Joan Miro

## Germany

1. Works of Art in Germany (British Zone of Occupation). Losses and Survivals in the War.  
— see England box.  
valuable
2. and 2a. German Expressionism Exhibition — Stuttgart. ND
3. Recent German Graphic Art. An Exhibition of the German Ministry of Art, sent to Australia.  
1956

## France

Various catalogues and exhibitions including:

1. Exh. Cat. Salon d'Automne. November 1951.

## Belgium

Various catalogues of exhibitions

## APPENDIX B

### REPORT TO THE STATE LIBRARY OF VICTORIA ON URSULA HOFF'S PRIVATE LIBRARY

Dermot McCaul  
Arts Librarian  
State Library of Victoria.

22 August 2003

Dear Dermot,

This is a brief synopsis of the books which I selected from Dr Hoff's library.

Proceeding through the hand written list, there is a considerable selection of German translated Russian literature. There was a very genuine/passionate interest by Ursula in Russian culture, as many well educated European people had in the early decades of the 20th century, but it was probably further encouraged by her father, Hans Leopold Hoff, a German Jew. Not only did the Hoff Company have an office in St Petersburg, but Dostoyevsky refers in his novel *The Brothers Karamazov* to Hoff Maltz, a medicinal brew. I am not sure whether Ursula was ever taken to Russia, but I believe she went later in her life to see the Hermitage. This interest in Russian poetry and literature continues well after her arrival in Melbourne in 1940 and she brought many books from the Continental Bookshop, the Austral Bookshop at 263 Collins Street, and Margarite Weber's Bookshop. The Hoff's had lived briefly in Berlin when she was a child, as the Hoff Co. had offices in Berlin as well as London and Munich, but much of their business expansion had disappeared by the first world war.

Note no. 4, 8a & b, 11, 107, were previously owned by Lionel Lindsay — a fond friendship was established with Lionel's son Peter Lindsay. Lionel, anti-Semitic as he was, overcame this and considered Hoff an excellent scholar who transcended the general Jewish type. (Ursula was officially not Jewish)

No. 5. 30 Brookland Rise, Hampstead, was where the Hoff family settled after their arrival in London in 1933. This was a popular suburb for the exiled 'intelligentsia', and while there were quite a number of German speaking refugees living in this area, Ursula was keen to practise her English, note Nos. 37, 38, 39, 49, 105. Although English was one of the foreign languages she best knew, her accent naturally betrayed her nationality, and her fluency was impeded by a nervousness befitting an 'alien'. Her father encouraged Ursula and her mother to attend the local cinema to listen to English spoken with action, a reasonably inexpensive lesson in English assimilation.<sup>1057</sup> Herr Hoff had as a young man in the late 1890s spent some years in the Hoff Company's London office, during which time he had learnt to speak excellent English, familiarise himself with London and establish connections with a number of important English people. Their relocation was therefore considerably less traumatic than for many other

<sup>1057</sup> Interview with Ursula Hoff. Hoff's father, Hans Leopold Hoff came from a prominent Jewish merchant family, and her mother Thusnelde, née Bulke, a German Lutheran woman with a charming and sharp intellect came from an upper middle class professional family. Conversations with Ursula Hoff.



Germans at this time.' — extract from my PhD. Robert Trevelyan and his wife Bessie and their son Julian, the Surrealist artist were amongst the more important British families that became friends of the Hoffs. Note no. 148 *Surrealism, Objects and Poems*, this was a time of avant-garde exhibitions flooding the cultural scene of London, and Ursula attended many of these exhibitions as a result of her friendship with Julian Trevelyan. Note Nos. 29, 30, 37, 55, 65, 66a, b, c, d, e, f, and 90 a & b probably were given to her by Robert Trevelyan, the poet, as the inscriptions mention 'the Shiffolds', the Trevelyan country home.

No 98. The writer Jean Paul, was very important to Hoff, and she purchased no. 133, 134, 135, 136 in Hamburg when she returned there in 1934–5, the year that she completed her dissertation. Similarly Walbert Stifter is very popular with Ursula.

The very large and comprehensive Thomas Mann collection was avidly collected by Ursula and her mother, see No. 129, Berlin 1909, inscribed TH (Thusnelde Hoff) 1909. Mann was very 'in' and had a serious cult following. Ursula and her mother kept a scrapbook of newspaper cuttings detailing Thomas and Heinrich Mann's career's and their exile, dating from 1929–1955. You can trace Mann's exile through the publishers. I did not include every Mann novel that Ursula had, only those inscribed and 1st editions.

See no. 61, Friederich Hölderlin, *Samtliche Werk*, and note the inscription; this book Franz Philipp managed to take in his suitcase when he was arrested in Vienna in 1938 and imprisoned in Dachau. It then travelled with him from England to Australia on the *Dunera*. June Philipp presented this book to Ursula on Franz's death in c. 1970. Franz and Ursula were collegially close and were intellectually supportive of each other.

No. 137, Donald Tovey was a good friend of Robert Trevelyan, and Ursula, who loved music, brought these soon after her arrival in Melbourne. She frequented many concerts in London including a performance by the ballerina Anna Pavlova. The inclusion of musical programmes and songbooks, *Lieders*, indicates some of concerts she and her mother attended in Hamburg and London. A great aunt had been a famous opera singer, and Ursula actually lived with this aunt in Frankfurt in 1929/30 when she commenced her academic studies at the Frankfurt University.

Nos. 1 & 75, 81 were books that Ursula Hoff would have brought prior to her grand tour of Europe, which she embarked on alone in 1929. This was a result of her deciding not to remain in a Hamburg artist's studio, where she had worked probably as a trainee assistant for one year after completing her matriculation. She decided that she wanted to know more about the history of art rather than practice art itself.

Nos. 53 James Thurber, *The Beast in Me & Other Animals*, Ursula wrote a lecture titled 'The Beast in Me or Comic and Humorous Drawings' where Hoff analyses humour, comedy and satire and traces the development of each mode through line drawing and black and white art up to the present comic strip. Thus her interest in no.44, 80, 79, 93, 105.

Nos. 74, 84, 101 were books that Ursula was probably given by Mrs Oppenheimer, when she assisted Sir Karl Parker, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, to catalogue the Henry Oppenheimer collection of old master drawings in 1936 in London. This collection was one of the most important private old master collections in England.

Yours sincerely

Sheridan Palmer.

Note: a full list of the books from Ursula Hoff's library selected for the State Library of Victoria is currently being prepared.